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## I.—A FURTHER COLLECTION OF LATIN PROVERBS.

### IV.

PELIAS, p. 271. See Crusius JJ. 135, 248, Wiesenthal, p. 18.

PENELOPE 1, p. 272. Lucian dial. meretr. 12, 1; anth. Pal. 1, 337, 2; id., append. 1, 278, 1; see Schmidt, p. 51.

PENELOPE 2, p. 272. For Greek parallels see Schmidt, p. 51.

PES 1, p. 274. Lactant. instit. 2, 3, 16 non prospexerunt quid ante pedes suos esset; compare Sen. ep. 94, 25 pleraque ante oculos posita transimus; Plin. ep. 8, 20, 1; Plin. n. h. 18, 253; Arnob. adv. nat. 1, 38, p. 26, 5 (Reiff.) nihil scire nec quae nostros sita sunt ante oculos non videre.

PES 8, p. 275. Pers. 3, 62 securus quo pes ferat; cf. Tib. 2, 6, 14.

PES 16. Szel. p. 19 cites Iuven. 10, 5 quid tam dextro pede concipis; so Prudent. c. Symmach. 2, 79 feliciter et pede dextro; Hier. adv. Pelag. 1, 22 si enim ipse Apostolus dicit de Petro quod non recto pede incesserit in Evangelii veritate; Sil. Ital. 7, 171-2 attulit hospitio. . . | pes dexter et hora Lyaeum; anthol. Pal., append. 1, 91, 3; so pede secundo in Vergil Aen. 8, 302 (see Servius ad loc.); 10, 255; similarly felici pede Ovid fast. 1, 514; pede fausto, Hor. ep. 2, 2, 37; compare Ovid ib. 101 nominibusque malis pedibusque occurrite laevis. The germ of the proverbial expression lies in the superstition which connected the right foot with good omens and the left foot with bad ones. This arose from the care to be observed in entering temples and other consecrated places on the right foot as we see from Vitruv. 3, 3, 4. So in Petron. c. 30, the slave enjoins upon the guests to enter

the banquet hall *dextro pede* for the sake of the omen. On the other hand *sinistro pede* is ill-omened, as in Apul. met. 1, 5 *sinistro pede profectum*; Sen. ben. 2, 12, 2 *non hoc est rem publicam calcare et . . . sinistro pede*; Ovid, ib. 101.

PES 17. Apul. met. 9, 1 *abrupto cursu me proripio totis pedibus.*

PES 18. Braulio ep. 11 (M. 80, 657 D) *nam paradigma tuum illud in armatura compositum quam mihi erat pervium et pede, ut aiunt, conterere.* This proverb has probably a much earlier origin.

PES 19. Lactant. instit. 5, 2, 9 *reducturum* *alios ab errore, cum ipse ignoraret ubi pedes suos poneret*; see Brandt-Laubmann's index under *proverbia*.

PHALARIS. Sen. d. 9, 14, 4 *Phalaris ille*; ben. 7, 19, 5 *sed ferus, sed immanis, qualis Apollodorus aut Phalaris*; Ovid ex Pont. 3, 6, 41 *forsitan haec domino Busiride iure timeres | aut solito clausos urere in aere viros*; Nic. Clar. ep. 35 (M. 196, 1628 C) *Falaris cruentior, Midas cupidior; Gaufrid ep. 50 (M. 205, 883 D) citing Sid. Apoll. ep. 5, 7, 6 *Falaris cruentior.**

PHOENIX 2, of extreme age. Luxor, epig. 497, 2 (PLM. 4, p. 411) *cum sis phoenicis grandior a senio.* See ALL. 8, 35 and 9, 73.

PHRYNE as a type of meretrix. Hor. epod. 14, 16 *me libertina nec uno | contenta Phryne macerat*; comp. Tib. 2, 6, 45 (but see Hiller's app. crit.).

PHRYX 3, p. 278. Herond. 2, 38 *ἀλλ' ὁ Φρύξ οὐτος | ὁ νῦν θαλῆς ἔων.* See J. Koch, p. 39.

PICA, p. 278. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 3, 13 (M. 199, 503 D) *pica siquidem pulvinaris efficacissima est, et, ut dici solet, cornix nocturna quovis oratore disertior.*

PICTURA, p. 279. Plaut. Merc. 313 *si umquam vidistis pictum amatorem, em illic est; 315 tantidemst, quasi sit signum pictum in pariete; compare Petron. 126 mulierem omnibus simulacris emendatiorem; Pseud. 911 et eccum vides verbeream statuam; Capt. 951; Aristoph. Ran. 543 γεγραμμένην εἰκόν' ἔσταντο; see JJ. 135, 249; compare append. sent. 108 (Ribb.); homo formon-sust ut pictura cuius pars nulla foeda est; see Blaydes on Aristoph. Ran., 537.*

PIGER, p. 279. Planud. 42 *ὅς πορεύεται βράδιον, πορεύεται τάχιον;* see Crusius, Rhein. Mus. 42, 403.

PISCIS 4. Ovid a. a. 1, 58 *aequore quot pisces;* trist. 4, 1, 56

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quotque frenum pisces . . . habet; 5, 2, 25 quot piscibus unda natatur; ex Pont. 2, 7, 28 quotque natent pisces aequore; a. a. 3, 150; 2, 517; Coripp. Ioh. 6, 203 aut pelagus pisces . . . | habet; cf. C. H. Müller, p. 49.

PILUS 1, n. p. 279. For Greek parallels see Tribukait, p. 40.

PIX, p. 281. Hildebert. carm. misc. 1315 (M. 171, 1386 B) nigror et pice.

PLANTA, p. 281. Sen. ep. 3, 2 cited by Petr. Cell. ep. 176 (M. 202, 634 D); Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 71 (M. 211, 370 C) plantae de loco ad locum translatae facillime arescant.

PLUMA, p. 282. Aldh. de sept. aenig. 14 D (M. 89, 198) sum levior pluma cedit cui tippula lymphae.

PLUMBEUS, p. 282. Compare Macar. 7, 82 συκίνη μάχαιρα.

PLUMBEUS, n. 1, p. 282. Constant. ep. ad cath. Alex. eccl. (M. 8, 560 D) stulti enim illi in lingua sua sitam habent malitiam plumbeasque iras ita secum circumferunt ut seipso mutuis vicibus feriant.

PLUMBUM. Licin. Crass. ap Suet. Ner. 2 cor plumbeum; Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 3, 14 (M. 199, 510 C); 7, 12 (662 C) plumbo hebetior es; metal. 1, 3 (829 B) obtunsior plumbo vel lapide; compare Otto, PLUMBEUS.

PLUMBUM 2. Aldh. de sept. aenigm. 14 D (M. 89, 198) gravior plumbo.

PLURES, p. 282. See ALL. 4, 513.

POCULUM, p. 282. Compare S. Matth. 20, 22.

POETA 3. Reposian. 419, 2 (PLM. 4, p. 348) solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur.

POLLEX, p. 283. See further T. Echtmeyer, l. c. p. 7.

POMUM 2, Sonny, ALL. 8, 490. Compare Ovid a. a. 1, 717 quod refugit, multae cupiunt; odere, quod instat; 3, 576 quae fugiunt, celeri carpite poma manu; Sid. Apoll. c. 7, 260 vel qui mos saepe dolenti | plus amat extinctum; Cassiod. var. 8, 14, 2 bonum quippe amissum, dum quaeritur, plus amatur; Propert. 2, 33, 43 semper in absentes felicior aestus amantes; Hier. ep. 66, 1 plus sensimus quos habuimus postquam habere desivimus.

PORCUS 3, p. 284. See Crusius, Herondas p. 73; Pherecrat. Μεταλλῆς 1; Πέρσαι p. 315, vol. 2<sup>1</sup> (Meineke); Teleclides, p. 361 (M.).

PORTHAON. Plaut. Men. 745 ego te simitu novi cum Porthaone; compare CALCHAS.

PORCUS 1, p. 284. Sen. ep. 14, 15 perit aliqua navis in portu; Pentad. PLM. 4, 408, 32 p. 344 (Baehr.) in portu mersa est per mare iacta ratis; anthol. Pal. 9, 82, 3 καὶ γὰρ Ἰων ὅρμῳ ἐνικάππεσεν.

**PORTUS** 2, p. 285. Terence's *in portu navigo* (Andr. 480) is a common phrase in mediaeval Latin; Ivo Carnot. ep. 19 (M. 162, 32 D) *qui velut in portu navigatis*; Ioh. Sar. ep. 247 (M. 199, 292 C) *navigamus in portu*; ep. 256 (299 C); ep. 290 (333 B); Petr. Bles. ep. 35 (M. 207, 114 A); Sen. ep. 19, 1 *in freto viximus, moriamur in portu*; Ennod. ep. 9, 30, p. 253, 14 (H.) *fides nostra . . . in portu est*; ep. 3, 14, p. 82, 10 (H.); Sidon. Apoll. ep. 1, 1, 4 *in portu iudicii publici . . . ancora sedet*; Alcuin ep. 72 (M. 100, 245 B) *ut quandoque . . . in portum pervenias prosperitatis*; Diogen. 4, 79 *εἰς τὸν λιμένα*; anthol. Pal. 9, 172, 2; see Leutsch-Schneidewin's note.

**PRAEMEDITARI.** Sen. ep. 76, 34 *praecogitati mali mollis ictus* *venit*; Varro frag. 6 (FPR. p. 296, Baehr.) *ex Ephyra Periandre*; 'cuncta emeditanda'; Sen. n. q. 6, 3, 2 *levius accident familiaria*; d. 2, 19, 3 *omnia leviora accident expectantibus*; d. 12, 5, 3; ep. 91, 3 *in expectata plus adgravant*; Columban. monost. 75 (M. 80, 289) *praemeditata quidem levius sufferre valebunt*; 76 *quae subito adveniunt, multo graviora videntur*; Braulio ep. 30 (M. 80, 677 D) *nam omnia diu meditata et frequenter cogitata, quamvis sunt atrocia, efficiuntur lenia*.

**PRAESENS** 2, p. 286. Sidon. Apoll. ep. 1, 7, 13 *absentes praesentesque vota facimus*; see Preuss, p. 42.

**PRIAMUS**, p. 287. Iuven. 6, 325 *quibus incendi iam frigidus* *aevo* | Laomedontiades; Priap. 12, 1 *quaedam iunior Hectoris* parente, | Cumaeae soror, *ut puto Sibyllae*, shows the same feeling for age in the person of Hecuba; cf. anthol. Pal. 11, 67, 2 *κορωνεκάθη*.

**PRINCIPIUM** 1, p. 287. Compare Cassiod. var. 6, 21, 1 *sed quanto melius in ipsis cunabulis adhuc mollia reprimere quam indurata crimina vindicare*; Steph. Torn. ep. 3, 245 (M. 211, 513 C) *melius est occurrere in tempore quam post exitum*; Hier. ep. 100, 1 *difficile sanantur mala quae non statim ut crescere coeperunt, opprimuntur*; ep. 2, 108, (398 A); 2, 110, (399 C); Sen. d. 5, 10, 2.

**PROBUS**, as a type of literary critic. Mart. 3, 2, 12 *illo vindice nec Probum timeto*.

**PROCINCTUS**, p. 288. Ps.-Publil. Syr. 151 (Fr.) *in recessu* *habeas severum, in procinctu clementiam*; Cypr. ad Fort. 8, p. 329, 15 (H.) *in procinctu firmiter stare*; Hier. ep. 118, 1 *in procinctu effusam putes (epistolam)*; Arnulf. Lexov. ep. 101 (M. 201, 124 A) *in procinctu sum*; gloss. Sangall. 912 I, 85 (Warren) *in procinctu: ex apparatu*; Placid. gloss. p. 58 (D.) s. v. 'in mundo.'

PROMETHEUS, as a type of antiquity. Iuven. 8, 133 *tu licet a Pico numeres genus . . . inter maiores ipsumque Promethea ponas.*

PROTEUS, p. 289. Thom. Cant. ep. 46 (M. 190, 506 D) *rex . . . et versibilitate Protea vincit*; Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 7, 9 (M. 199, 654 C) *lubricum et volubilem Protea miraberis redisse.*

PULLUS. Paul. ex Fest. p. 245 (M.) *pullus Iovis dicebatur* Q. Fabius; compare Aristoph. Av. 835 *Ἄρεως νεοττός* and see Crusius on Herond. p. 136; Blaydes on Aristoph. l. c.; Macar. 2, 31; Apost. 4, 7.

PULVIS 2, p. 290. See Apost. 15, 19a *ἀκονιτὶ κρατεῖν.*

[PULVIS 4. Ovid fast. 2, 360 *inque suo noster pulvere currat equus*, sounds proverbial; compare rem. am. 397 *atrahe lora | fortius et gyro curre, poeta tuo.*]

PULVIS 5, as a worthless substance. Fronto p. 211, 2 (Nab.) *nihil serum potuisse fieri de fumo et pulvere*; p. 228, 3 (Nab.) *cum illa olim nugalia conscripsi, laudem fumi et pulveris*; cf. Hor. od. 1, 28, 3.

PUMEX 3, p. 290. Eugipp. ep. ad Past. 3 *quid tibi aquas expectare de silice.*

PUNCTUM, p. 290. Petr. Dam. ep. 5, 3 (M. 144, 343 C) (*tempus*) *id enim brevissimum, quod est velut in puncto, transcurrit*; Leonidas of Tarentum, anthol. Pal. 7, 472, 3 *τίς μοῖρα ζωῆς ὑπολείπεται ἡ ὅσον ὅσσον | στιγμὴ καὶ στιγμῆς εἴ τι χαμηλότερον.*

PUNICUS 1, p. 291. See Woelflin, ALL. 7, 135; Claudian. 15, 284 (Jeep) *tollite Massylas fraudes, removete bilingues | insidias.*

PURUS 1, p. 291. See Preuss, p. 112.

PYRRHA, of great age. Mart. 10, 67, 1 *Pyrrhae filia, Nestoris noverca.*

QUAESTUS, p. 293. See Macar. 6, 98 *πάντ' εἰς τὴν κερδαίνουσαν πήραν ὡθεῖν* and Leutsch's note.

QUERCUS. Publil. Syr. 52 *arbore deiecta, ligna quivis colligit*; Macar. 3, 39 *δρυὸς πεσούσης, πᾶς ἀνὴρ ἔνλευνεται.* Ps.-Publil. Syr. 136 (Fr.). The proverb may have been known to the Romans as it appears again in Italian; Ariosto, Orlando Furioso 37, 106, 3-4 *com' è in proverbio, ognune corre a far legna | all' arbore che'l vento in terra getta.*

QUIRE, p. 293. See Crusius, Herond. p. 175.

RADIX. Avit. Vienn. c. 2, 106 *non facit vivum radix occisa cacumen* sounds proverbial.

RANA, p. 294. The fable of the ox and the frog is also referred to by Alan. de Insul. (M. 210, 590 A).

**RARUS 1.** p. 294. Zosim. pap. ep. 9, 1 (M. 20, 672 A) rarum est enim omne quod magnum est; Alcuin ep. 95 (M. 100).

**RARUS 2.** Alcuin ep. 58, (M. 100, 226 C) multi sunt in prosperitate amici, in adversitate rari; et eo cariores, quo rariores; ep. 89 (M. 100, 286 D) quanto rariores nunc temporis tales inveniri possunt, tanto cariores haberi debent; Petr. Ven. ep. 1, 5 (M. 189, 72 B) quanto carior, tanto rarior; compare Foliot. ep. 80 (M. 190, 801 B) virtus et scientia quanto rarior, eo pretiosior est; Mart. 4, 42, 6 pulchrior est, quanto rarior, iste color.

**RASTRUM.** Sidon. Apoll. c. 2, 529 a rastris ad rostra; compare Sen. ep. 51, 10 ad arma ab aratro; compare Apul. met. 10, 2 a socco ad cothurnum ascendere. Otto in his note, p. 326, denies any proverbial feeling in the citation from Apuleius. I am inclined to believe that these phrases, expressing a similar idea and both alliterative, may point to some expression of a proverbial character.

**RATIO.** Plaut. Trin. 419 ratio quidem hercle appetet: argentum *oīχeras* (cited by Cic. in Pis. 25, 61); Ter. Phorm. 299 non ratio, verum argentum deerat.

**REGNUM 5.** Alcuin ep. 129 (M. 100, 364 C) sicut in illo Platonico legitur proverbio dicentis: felicia esse regna, si philosophi, id est amatores sapientiae, regnarent vel reges philosophiae studenterent; Boeth. consol. phil. 1, 4, 15 beatas fore res publicas, si eas vel studiosi sapientiae regerent vel earum rectores studere sapientiae contigisset; Prudent. c. Sym. 1, 31 publica res, inquit, tunc fortunata satis, si | vel reges saperent vel regnarent sapientes; Plato rep. 5, 473.

**REMUS,** p. 297. Ovid rem. am. 790 remis adice vela tuis; a. a. 1, 368 ancilla . . . | incitet, et velo remigis addat opem; ex Pont. 2, 6, 37 remo tamen utor in aura; see further Flor. 1, 18 (2, 2) 18; Mamert. grat. act. Iul. 8; Preuss, l. c. p. 70.

**REMUS,** note p. 297. Hauschild p. 299<sup>1</sup> considers that the passages quoted by Otto from Cic. Phil. 1, 4, 9 and ad fam. 12, 25, 3 have reference to the proverbial phrase which appears in Cic. Tusc. 3, 11, 25 velis . . . remisque.

**RES 1,** p. 297. Fronto ad Ant. Pium 8 p. 169, 2 (Nab.) res ipsa testis est (= Plaut. Aulul. 421); Claud. Mar. Vict. Aleth. 3, 596 res ipsa tacens loquitur; Cypr. ep. 36, 2, p. 574, 14 (H.) immo ut res ipsa loquitur et clamat; ep. ad Cypr. 30, 2 (M. 4, 313) ut res ipsa loquitur et clamat; Hier. adv. Rufin. 1, 8 (M. 23,

<sup>1</sup> Act. Sem. Erlang. VI.

422 A): taces: ipsae res loquuntur; Phaedr. append. 22, 4 sed res clamabit ipsa; Gualbert. act. 115 (M. 148, 838 C) ut res ipsa . . . declarat; compare Plaut. Epid. 713 quid est negoti? EP: iam ipsa res dicet tibi; Abaelard. ep. 1 (M. 178, 122 A) quod si ego tacerem, res ipsa clamat; Helois. ad Abael. ep. 2 (183 C) et si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat. See ALL. 11, 568; Eustath. Il. 3, 35 *αὐτὸς δεῖξει*;<sup>1</sup> Koch, p. 58.

RES 4, p. 298. Ter. Eun. 166 relictis rebus omnibus; Plaut. Stich. 362 immo res omnis relictas habeo prae quod tu velis; Lent. ap Cic. ad fam. 12, 14, 1; Caesar bell. Gall. 7, 34, 1 omnibus omissis rebus; bell. civ. 3, 102, 1; Cic. Balb. 3, 6; de or. 3, 14, 51;<sup>2</sup> Hor. ep. 1, 5, 30 rebus omissis; Sen. d. 2, 3, 2 omnibus relictis negotiis; n. q. 6, 32, 12 omnibus omissis; ep. 5, 1; d. 10, 7, 4 relictis omnibus impedimentis; Fronto p. 4, 4 (Nab.) abruptis omnibus cursu concito pervolo; Lactant. inst. 1, 4, 6 derelictis omnibus; Claud. Mam. p. 48, 5 (Engel.) omissis omnibus.

[RES 5. Plaut. Rud. 1148 tua res agitur; Hor. ep. 1, 18, 84 nam tua res agitur; Ioh. Saris. vit. S. Anselm. 12 (M. 199, 1030 D); Sen. apoc. 9 mea res agitur; d. 6, 6, 1 tuum illic, Marcia, negotium actum; compare Pers. 3, 20 tibi luditur. The expression, like *relictis rebus*, is quasi-proverbial.]

RETE 1, p. 299. Licent. ad Augustin. ep. 26 (M. 33, 105) animis molitur retia nobis.

RETE 3. Ovid rem. am. 516 quae nimis apparent retia, vitat avis, sounds proverbial to Hartung, p. 16.

REX 1, p. 299. Plaut. Rud. 931 apud reges rex perhibeor; Capt. 825 non ego nunc parasitus sum, sed regum rex regalior.

REX 9. Kings are proverbially rich as well as happy. Tibull. 1, 8, 34 et regum magnae despiciantur opes; 2, 3, 24; Sen. ben. 1, 7, 1 qui regum aequavit opes animo; clem. 1, 26, 2 regiis opibus.

RISUS 1, p. 301. Lucil. 30, 97 (M.) quae quondam populi risu pectora rumpit; Sidon. Apoll. ep. 1, 11, 3 solvit in risum; Augustin. ep. 95, 2 (M. 33, 352) sed etiam risu vinci ac solvi; see Kurtz, p. 310; Eustath. Il. 881, 2 *γέλωτι ἐκθαυεῖν*.

ROBUR. Ovid her. 7, 52 nisi duritia robora vincis; Hor. c. 3, 10, 17 nec rigida mollior aesculo; Ovid met. 13, 798 durior annosa queru; PLM. 4, 319, 2 p. 302 (Baehr.) silvestri iuvenis

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 310.

<sup>2</sup> Köhler, *Ueber die Sprache der Briefe des P. Corn. Lentulus*, Nürnberg, 1890, p. 41.

durior arbuto; 4, 319, 9 duri resecans robora pectoris; Iuven. 6, 12 qui rupto robore nati; Pallad. anthol. Pal. 10, 55, 2 οὐ γάρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς εἰ | οὐδὲ ἀπὸ πέτρης φησίν; 11, 253, 2; cf. 9, 312, 5 τηλόθι δ' ισχε δρυὸς πέλεκυν· κοκύαι γάρ ἔλεξαν | ἀμῦν ὡς πρότεραι ματέρες ἐντὶ δρύνες. Hom. Il. 22, 126; Eustath. Il. 1262, 6 ἀπὸ δρυὸς καὶ ἀπὸ πέτρας<sup>1</sup> Macar. 3, 40 δρυὸς καὶ πέτρας λόγοι; see Woelflin ALL. 6, 458 and SILEX I.

[ROMA. Auson. ord. nobil. urb. 8, 61 illa potens opibusque valens, Roma altera quondam.]

ROSA 1, p. 302. Alcuin ep. 117 (M. 100, 351 C; comp. ep. 147, ibid.) rosa inter spinas nata gratiam habere dignoscitur; Petr. Chrys. serm. 49 (M. 52, 338 C) sicut in spinis rosa; compare Ovid a. a. 2, 116 et riget amissa spina relicta rosa; Damas. pap. (M. 13, 416 B) si vis tu spinas sumere, sume rosas. For similar proverbs in Greek see Schmidt, p. 121; anthol. Pal. 11, 53 τὸ ρόδον ἀκράδει βασιὸν χρόνον· ἦν δὲ παρέλθη | ζητῶν εὐρήσεις οὐ ρόδον, ἀλλὰ βάτον.

ROSA 2, Szel. p. 17. Sen. d. 7, 11, 4 vide eosdem in suggestu rosae despectantis popinam suam; ep. 82, 3 aequi qui in odoribus iacet mortuus est quam qui rapitur unco; eleg. ad Maec. 1, 94 victor odorata dormiat neque rosa; compare sen. d. 4, 25, 2 uestus est quod foliis rosae duplicatis incubuisset; similarly with *pluma*; Vict. Vit. 1, 43 p. 19, 11 (Petsch.) dormire quasi super lectum plumis stratum omnibus videbatur; Sen. d. 1, 3, 10 tam vigilabat in pluma quam ille in cruce; Cypr. ep. 1, 218 (M. 4, 222) vigilat in pluma; Alan. de Insul. lib. parab. 4 (M. 210, 589 C) qui iacet in plumis; append. prov. 3, 54 κύων ἐν ρόδοις: ἐπὶ τῶν μὴ αἰσθανομένων ἐν μεγάλοις ὅντων.

ROSA 3. Pers. 2, 38 quicquid calcaverit hic, rosa fiat, (see Jahn's note); Ovid ex Pont. 2, 1, 35 quaque ierit . . . | saxaque roratis erubuisse rosis; Claud. 29, 90 (Jeep) quacumque per herbam | reptares, fluxere rosae; the opposite of Saufinius, Petron. 44 is quacumque ibat, terram adurebat, or of Invidia, Ovid m. 2, 792 quacumque ingreditur, florentia proterit arva, exuritque herbas.

ROSA 4. Ovid am. 3, 7, 66 hesterna languidiora rosa, is perhaps proverbial.

ROSA 5. Ovid rem. am. 46 et urticae proxima saepe rosast; Alan. de Insul. lib. parab. (M. 210, 582 A) fragrantes vicina rosas urtica perurit; compare ex Pont. 4, 4, 4 mixta fere duris utilis herba rubis; compare ROSA 1, and MEL 3.

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 309.

**RUMPERE**, p. 303. Cic. ad Attic. 4, 16, 14 disrumparis licet; 7, 12, 3 dirumpor dolore; in Vatin. 16; Plaut. Bacch. 603 disrumpum velim; Truc. 701 laetitia differor; Propert. 1, 16, 48 alterna differor invidia; Sen. d. 6, 22, 5 non rumperetur super cineres Cn. Pompei constitui Seianum; Ovid rem. am. 389 rumpere, Livor edax.

**SABINA**, p. 304. Hor. ep. 2, 1, 25 vel Gabiis vel cum rigidis aequata Sabinis; Stat. silv. 5, 1, 22 velut Apula coniunx | agricolae parci vel sole infecta Sabino; Ovid met. 14, 797 neququam rigidis promissa Sabinis; fast. 1, 343 ara dabat fumos herbis contenta Sabinis; compare fast. 4, 741 and Prop. 4, 3, 58, with Rothstein's note; Claudian. 15, 106 mallem tolerare Sabinos | et Veios; Hildebert. carm. misc. 1334 (M. 171, 1408 C) redoletque Sabinam | non levis incessus nec datus arte decor; (1371 B) vera Sabina; (1529 B) par esto Sabinis, | regnet et in tenera facie matrona severa; with the general idea compare Maxim. eleg. 5, 40 Tusca simplicitate.

**SAGITTA** 1, p. 305. Hier. ep. 125, 19 sicut enim sagitta si mittatur contra duram materiam nonnumquam in mittentem revertitur et vulnerat vulnerantem; Sen. ep. 102, 7 in nos nostra tela mittuntur; compare **TELUM**.

**SAGITTA** 2, Szel. p. 6. Lucan 1, 229 it torto Balearis verbere fundae | ocior et missa Parthi post terga sagitta; Sidon. Apoll. c. 23, 343 non pulsa Scythico sagitta nervo; Valerian. homil. 5 (M. 52, 707 B) multo enim velociores sagittis sunt; Claud. rapt. Proserp. 1, 285 Aethonque sagitta | ocior; Grat. cyneg. 204 ocior adfectu mentis pinnaque; Laurent. Veron. de bell. Balear. 2 (M. 163, 525 A) ecce Moabitae, pedibus vectantur equinis | ut solet a nervo dimissa venire sagitta | quando suum Parthus sinuat violentius arcum; Sil. Ital. 15, 570 velocior arcu; Aetn. 407 ferro citius; compare Ovid met. 7, 777 nec ocior illo | hasta nec exutae contorto verbere glandes; Lucan 1, 230; see Woelflin, ALL. 6, 456.

**SALUS**, p. 307. Compare for a similar figure Plaut. Poen. 846 qui ipsus hercle ignaviorem potis est facere ignaviam; compare Asin. 268 ut ego illos lubentiores faciam quam Lubentia, and see **VERUS**.

**SAMIUS**, p. 307 n. Auson. Epigr. 2, 2 atque abacum Samio saepe ornasse luto.

**SANNA**, p. 307. Schol. Pers. 1, 59 quasi sannam facientes.

**SAPIENS** 1, p. 308. Compare Sen. apoc. 5 (Hercules) putavit sibi tertium decimum laborem venisse; in anthol. Pal. 9, 506, Sappho is spoken of as the tenth muse.

**SARCINA 1.** p. 308. With Varro *r. r. 1, 1, 1* compare Seneca *ep. 19, 1 incipiamus vasa in senectute colligere*; compare Plaut. *Pseud. 1033 cor conligatis vasis expectat*; Plin. *ep. 4, 1, 2 atque adeo sarcinulas alligamus*.

**SARCINA 2.** Ennod. *p. 342, 4 (H.) fit enim ad portandum facilis sarcina, quam multorum colla sustentant*; compare our proverb 'Many hands make light work'.

**SARDANAPALUS**, Sonny, *ALL. 8, 491*. Sid. *Apoll. c. 9, 29 nec quam divite, cum refugit hostem | arsit Sardanapalus in favilla*; Ioh. *Sar. enthet. 1746 (M. 199, 1002 C) Exspecta modicum: Sardanapalus erit*; Petr. *Damian. ep. 1, 13, 17 (M. 144, 219) ipse velut alter Sardanapalus*; Graux *Rev. Phil. 2, 221 ή Σαρδαναπάλλον τράπεζα*; see Wiesenthal, p. 58.

**SARDONIUS**, p. 308. *Cic. ad fam. 7, 25, 1 rideamus γέλωτα σαρδόνιον*. *Plat. rep. 337 A*; *Eustath. Il. 1893, 4 and 21<sup>1</sup> Σαρδόνιος γέλως*; see H. Koch *II. p. 24*.

**SARTUS**, p. 309. See Preuss, p. 107, who cites *sarta*, *tecta* frequently from the digest.

**SATURNALIA**, p. 310. Compare Theokr. *15, 26 ἀεργοῖς αἰὲν ἔορτά*; see Tribukait, p. 9.

**SAXUM 1**, p. 310. Plaut. *Truc. 56 quod petra debeatque amans scorto suo*; Hegesipp. *5, 16, 175 saxis duriores*; Nov. *Avian. 1, 3*; Alcuin *vit. S. Will. 9, 189 (M. 101, 699) homo . . . omni lapide durior*; Columban. *serm. 10, 1 (M. 80, 247 C) durum et lapideum cor*; Sisebut. *vit. S. Desid. 9 (M. 80, 383 D) cor saxeum*; Bonifat. *Mogunt. ep. 63 (M. 89, 766 B) tam saxeum vel tam ferrei pectoris*; Hincmar. *ep. 2 (M. 126, 32 C) durior saxeum*; Anselm *Cant. ep. 1, 76 (M. 158, 1145 C) si cor meum esset lapide durius*; Hildebert. *carm. misc. 1353 (M. 171, 1428 B) tua mens . . . saxeum*; Steph. *Torn. ep. 3, 262, 379 quis enim sit tam ferrei cordis, lapidei pectoris*; Adam. *Pers. ep. 11 (M. 211, 622) ex duritia cordis lapidei*; Theokr. *10, 7 πέτρας ἀπόκομμ' ἀτεράμινα*; *anthol. Pal. 5, 41, 2 τίς ψυχὴν λιθίνην εἴχε*; see Tribukait, p. 36, Woelflin, *ALL. 6, 458*.

**SAXUM 2**, p. 310. Ioh. *Sar. Polycrat. 7, 9 (M. 199, 654 A) marmoreum putes*.

**SAXUM 4.** For Greek parallels see Schmidt, p. 46.

**SCABIES**, p. 310. Varro *Catus 29 (Riese, p. 248) saepe enim unus puer petulans atque impurus inquinat gregem puerorum*; Bonifat. *Mogunt. ep. 57 (M. 89, 753 C) ne forte una ovis morbida*

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 318.

totum gregem contaminet; Thom. Cant. ep. 122 (M. 190, 595 D) una ovis morbida gregem fidelium contaminare posset.

**SCELUS** 2 (compare **VIRTUS**). Sen. ep. 97, 14 quoniam sceleris in scelere supplicium est; ep. 87, 24 atqui maximum scelerum supplicium in ipsis est.

**SCINTILLA**, p. 311. Optat. mil. 3, 9, p. 93, 1 (Ziwsa) in qua incendium de scintilla conflatum est; Valerian. homil. 6 (M. 52, 711) sic denique scintilla quamvis parva flamas evomit, et ex nihilo exorta magna frequenter movet incendia; Petr. Ven. ep. 2, 6 (M. 189, 199 C) quando ex modica scintilla vos multum flammae monstratis; Ioh. Sar. carm. de membr. (M. 199, 1008 A) nam de scintilla magnum foveat et movet ignem; compare Plaut. Trin. 678 ne scintillam quidem relinques, genus qui congiscat tuom.

**SCINTILLA** 2, (compare **GUTTA** 1, p. 156 Otto). Ennod. ep. 8, 39 p. 225, 19 (H.) si vivit amoris scintilla polliciti; incert. Sax. poet. de gest. Car. Magn. 5 (M. 99, 725 A) si qua meam scripturarum scintillula mentem | artis et illustrat.

**SCIRE** 2, p. 312. Apul. apol. 52 prudens et sciens delinquis; Paulin. Nol. ep. 42, 5, p. 363, 8 (H.) sciens prudensque; Salvian. de gub. dei. 6, 32; Ulp. dig. 42, 6, 7;<sup>1</sup> Thom. Cant. ep. 4 (M. 190, 440 C); compare Ps.-Cypr. de dupl. martyr. 28, p. 239, 28 (H.) sciens et volens; Sen. Herc. Fur. 1308 volens sciensque; d. 3, 16, 4 exercitatus et sciens (ut, Gertz); Ter. Heaut. 633 te inscientem atque imprudentem dicere et facere omnia; Phorm. 660 utrum stultitia facere ego an malitia | dicam, scientem an imprudentem, incertus sum; see Kaibel, Hermes 17, 412.

**SCIRE** 3. Othlo lib. prov. 12 (M. 146, 318 C) magna pars intelligentiae scire quid nescias; Ps.-Baeda lib. prov. (M. 90, 1102); Fulgent. myth. 1, 22 primum, itaque, ego scientiae vestibulum puto, scire quod nescias; Hier. ep. 53, 7 imo, ut cum stomacho loquar, ne hoc quidem scire quod nescias; ep. 53, 8; adv. Rufin. 3, 31.

[**SCIRE** 4. Arnob. adv. nat. 7, 9, p. 243, 20 (Reiff.) numquam sciens aut nesciens tuum numen maiestatemque violarim; Gelas. I. ad episc. Dard. 36 sive scientes sive nescientes; cf. **PRAESENS**.]

**SCIRPUS**, p. 312. Petr. Dam. ep. 6, 8, 193 (M. 144, 388) et hoc non ut scirpi nodum, quo liber erat, absolveres; Alan. de Insul. lib. parab. 3 (M. 210, 587 B) nolumus in scirpo, quo non est, quaerere nodum.

<sup>1</sup> Preuss, p. 105.

**SCYLLA.** Hildebert. carm. indiff. 1365 (M. 171, 1441 C): *Roma nocens | Scylla rapax*; Ioh. Sar. carm. de membr. (M. 199, 1005 C) (*venter*) et sorbet omnia *Scylla vorax*.

**SCYTHA**, p. 315. For Greek parallels see J. Koch, p. 44.

**SECUNDUS.** Cic. Brut. 242 Q. Arrius qui fuit M. Crassi quasi secundarum; Hor. sat. 1, 9, 45; Sen. d. 5, 8, 6 optimum iudicat quicquid dixisset, sequi et secundas agere, ben. 2, 29, 3; Symmach. ep. 8, 15 secundae igitur mihi partes relictæ sunt; compare our expression 'to play second fiddle'; for the opposing idea note Ter. Eun. 151 sine illum priores partis hosce aliquod dies | apud me habere; Sen. ben. 4, 2, 2 primæ partes eius sunt, ducere debet.

**SEGES** 2, p. 315. Sen. ep. 81, 1 is cited by Gillebert. ep. 1, 90 (M. 184, 289 C).

**SEMEL** 2. Quintil. 5, 10, 90 nam ex pluribus ad unum et ex uno ad plura, unde est quod semel et saepius; 7, 8, 3 an, quod semel ius est, et saepius; see Preuss, p. 33; Nepos. Epam. 7, 3 and Nipperdey-Lupus ad. loc.

**SENEX** 1, p. 316. The Greek proverb *δις παιδες οι γέροντες*, is cited by Auson. ep. 22, p. 261, 2 (Peiper); see H. Koch II. p. 7; Eustath. II. 1706, 4;<sup>1</sup> compare Plaut. Merc. 976 *vetus puer*.

**SENEX** 3, p. 317. Plin. ep. 4, 20, 1 cognovi te . . . cumque plurimum scias cotidie tamen aliquid addiscere. ita senescere oportet virum, etc.

**SERIUS.** Hor. carm. 2, 3, 26, versatur urna serius ocios. This is a proverbial expression according to Kraut.<sup>2</sup>

**SERVIRE.** Ps.-Cypr. p. 155, 2 (H.) de duod. abus. 3 unde et in proverbio apud veteres habetur quod serviri nequeat qui prius alicui servitutem praebere denegat.

**SERVUS** 1, p. 319. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 8, 12 (M. 199, 757 B) quotes Macrobi. sat. 1, 11, 13. Ps.-Publil. Syr. 314 (Fr.) quot servi, totidem multis sunt hostes domi.

**SERVUS**, n. 2, p. 320. See Greg. Cypr. Leid. 2, 11 *ελάφειος ἀνήρ* and Leutsch's note.

**SERVUS** 2. Plaut. Pers. 648 servi liberique amabunt; Nep. Them. 6, 5 omnes, servi atque liberi; compare our phrase 'bond and free', though we can hardly consider it proverbial; compare, however, Otto, PUER, p. 289.

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Ueber das vulgäre Element in der Sprache des Sallustius, Blaubeuren, 1881, p. 7.

**SIBYLLA** 2, p. 321. Claudian. 19, 38 (Jeep) ad propriam cladem caeca Sibylla taces? See Wiesenthal, p. 50.

**SIDUS** 1, p. 321. Ovid trist. 4, 10, 108 quot inter | occultum stellae conspicuumque polum; Cassiod. var. 1, 10, 4 tanto amplius indubitanter augetur, quantitate numerabili . . . stellae lucidae concluduntur; Hildebert. carm. misc. 1330 (M. 171, 1403 C) non tot nox stellas . . . habet, crima quot species.

**SIDUS** 2 n., p. 322. Ovid met. 1, 499 sideribus similes oculos; compare Stat. Achill. 2, 135 sidereis divarum vultibus; Mart. 4, 42, 7 lumina sideribus certent; Sulpic. Sev. ep. 2, 3.

**SILENTIUM.** Hor. c. 3, 2, 25 est et fidei tuta silentio | merces appears to be a translation of the Greek proverb Apost. 7, 97 ἔστι καὶ στήνη ἀκίνδυνον γέρας; CIG. 3, 6308; see Leutsch's note.

**SILEX** 1, p. 322. Ennius trag. 130 (Ribb.) lapideo sunt corde multi; 66 (Ribb.) sed quasi ferrum aut lapis durat; Mart. 11, 60, 8 at Chione non sentit opus nec vocibus ullis | adiuvat; absentem marmoreamque putes; Auson. epigr. 11, 2 (Peiper) semper saxeus ipse fuit; Bonifat. Mogunt. ep. 63 (M. 89, 766) non simus ergo tam saxe vel tam ferrei pectoris; incert. Sax. poet. de gest. Car. Magn. 5 (M. 99, 725) Saxonum saxe corda; Hildebert. carm. misc. 1314 (M. 171, 1385 C); Petr. Dam. ep. 2, 13, 84 (M. 144, 286) duri ac lapidei homines designantur; Petr. Ven. ep. 4, 18 (M. 189, 344 D) non adeo lapidei sumus ut non sentiamus; Gaufrid. ep. 47 (M. 205, 881 A) non sum tamen adeo lapideus . . . et siccus; Eustath. Il. 1940, 1 σοὶ δ' αἰὲν κραδίη στερεωτέρη ἔστι λίθοιο;<sup>1</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 280, λίθον ἐψεις; see Crusius, Herond. p. 145 and C. H. Müller, l. c. p. 37; compare Tibull. 2, 4, 9 o ego ne possim tales sentiri dolores | quam mallem in gelidis montibus esse lapis.

**SILEX** 2, p. 322. Venant. Fort. c. 5, 6, 5 quis enim flenti non crederet, quem lapis non genuit; PLM. 4 epigr. 188 p. 185 Baehr., thema Verg. (compare Aen. 4, 366) durae tigres lapidesque sinistri | te genuere virum.

**SILEX** 3, p. 322. Compare CIL. 6, 21521 (carm. epigr. 1109, 6 B): me desertum ac spoliatum | clamarem largis saxa movens lacrimis.

**SILVA** 1, p. 323. This proverb was extensively used in mediaeval Latin; Alcuin ep. 41, 49 (M. 100, 203 C; comp. ep. 11) quod facio insipiens contra philosophicum proverbium ligna in silvam ferens; ep. 76 (256 D) ego vero veteris immemor proverbii 'non

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 318.

feres ligna in silvam'; Servat. Lup. ep. 1 (M. 119, 432); Fulbert. Carnot. ep. 3 (M. 141, 193 B) poteram a planis arvis ligna in silvam vel aquas in mare comportare; Petr. Ven. ep. 2, 12 (M. 189, 202 A) secundum vulgare proverbium stolidissimum videatur humeris ligna ad silvam deferre; ep. 4, 17 (337 D) ut vulgo dicitur Minervam docere vel ligna ad silvam . . . deferre; ep. 4, 43 (382 B) videor, ut dicitur, Minervam docere, videor ligna ad silvam convehere; Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 43, 59 (M. 211, 343) quasi in silvam ligna ferens; Phil. Harveng. ep. 20 (M. 203, 165 C) non attendens quod in silvam ligna ferre otiosum . . . iudicatur; see Diogen. 7, 68, Macar. 6, 100 and Leutsch's notes; compare also Ovid ex Pont. 4, 2, 9 quis mel Aristaeo | . . . det.

SIMIA, p. 323. Plaut. Most. 886 (B.); vide ut fastidit simia; Sidon. Apoll. ep. 1, 1, 2 oratorum simiam nuncupaverunt; Cic. ad fam. 7, 2, 3 hic simiolus; see Schmalz, p. 41.<sup>1</sup>

SINUS 2, p. 324. Compare Sen. ben. 7, 28, 3 si te diligenter excusseris, in sinu invenies.

SINUS 2, p. 324. See Heraeus.<sup>2</sup>

SIREN, p. 324. Fur. Bibac. frag. 1 (Baehr.) Cato grammaticus, latina Siren; Aldh. diplom. 3 (M. 89, 310) garrulo Sirenarum carmine spreto; Nicol. Clar. ep. 33 (M. 196, 1625 A) si has Sirenes usque in extremum dulces audieris; Phil. Harveng. ep. 13 (M. 203, 100 B) te in huius saeculi pelago naufragoso mortifera Sirenarum dulcedo retinebat; Petr. Bles. ep. 140 (M. 207, 418 B) nugae canorae et Sirenes usque in exitium dulces; Paul. Silent. anthol. Pal. 5, 241, 7 κεῖνο τὸ Σειρῆνων γλυκερώτερον; anth. Pal. append. 2, 261, 1; 550, 5; incert. poet. CIG. 6268, 1 ἡ πολὺ Σειρῆνων λιγυρωτέρη; see Schmidt, p. 50, J. Koch, p. 50, for further examples from Greek.

SISYPHUS, p. 325; for Greek parallels, see Wiesenthal, p. 52.

SOCRATES, as a type of philosopher; Plaut. Pseud. 465 conficet iam te hic verbis ut tu censeas | non Pseudolum sed Socratem loqui; Hor. c. 3, 21, 9 quamquam Socratis madet | sermonibus; Propert. 2, 34, 27; Plin. ep. 3, 12, 1 (cena) Socratis tantum sermonibus abundet; Pers. 5, 37 Socratico . . . sinu; compare Petron. 128 quod me Socratica fide diligis and 5, v. 13 Socratico plenus grege.

SOL 1, p. 326. Sen. ben. 4, 26, 1 nam et sceleratis sol oritur; for the thought compare ben. 2, 28, 3 optimorum virorum

<sup>1</sup> Ueber den Sprachgebrauch des Asin. Pollio, München, 1890.

<sup>2</sup> Die Sprache des Petron. u. die Glossen, p. 31.

segetem grando percussit; Alcuin ep. 34 (M. 100, 191, A) et sicut—sol omnibus lucet.

SOL 2, p. 326. Ps.-Lactant. de mort. persec. 18, 12, p. 194, 5 (Brandt) illum saltatorem temulentum, ebriosum cui nox pro die est et dies pro nocte.

SOL 4, p. 326. Propert. 4, 1, 143 illius arbitrio noctem lucemque videbis: | gutta quoque ex oculis non nisi iussa cadet; compare Lactant. instit. 5, 19, 8 quid ergo non diem noctem vocant, solem tenebras, and the famous scene in the *Taming of the Shrew*.

SOL 5, p. 327. Sen. ep. 92, 17 igniculum nihil conferre lumini solis; Ennod. vit. S. Epiph. p. 366, 16 (H.) quis quaerat noctis lampadam ubi solis iubar effulgerat; pro Syn. 2, p. 295, 23 nescitis stolidi, solem facibus non iuvari; Tertull. apol. 46 (233) quis enim philosophum sacrificare aut deierare aut lucernas meridie vanas proferre compellit. Petr. Cell. ep. 150 (M. 202, 594 A) superflua enim sunt impendia lucernae ubi sol meridianus lucet in virtute sua; ep. 1, 52 (479 B) nec enim praesumo docere Minervam vel in sole radios ponere; ep. 83 (531 B) quid faceret facula fumbunda inter astra lucentia; Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 43, 59 (M. 211, 343) quasi solem certans facibus adiuvare; compare Petr. Dam. vit. S. Odil. 400 (M. 144, 925) superfluum quippe est lucernam manibus adhibere, dum micantium stellarum conaris signa distinguere.

SOLON, as a type of energy or severity; Plaut. Asin. 599 nunc enim esse | negotiosum interdius videlicet Solonem; Pers. 3, 78 aerumnosique Solones; of legal ability, Sidon. Apoll. ep. 5, 5, 3 novus . . . Solon.

SOLUS 1, p. 328. Plaut. Poen. 891 hic soli sumus.

SOMNIUM, p. 328. Plaut. Men. 1047 haec nilo esse mihi videntur setius quam somnia; Curt. 4, 1, 23 somnio similis res . . . videbatur.

SOROR. Plaut. Truc. 437 germanae quod sorori non credit soror; compare UXOR.

SPARTACUS. Sidon. Apoll. ep. 3, 13, 10 per hunc Spartacum quaecumque sunt clausa, franguntur.

SPECULUM 1. Hrosuitha Mon. com. Gall. act. 1, sc. 2 (M. 137, 979 D) si enim ut dicitur, speculum mentis est facies, 'the face is the mirror of the mind'; Cic. Pis. 1 vultus denique totus qui sermo quidam tacitus mentis est; see Otto, FRONS 1.

SPECULUM 2. Plaut. Most. 644 [aedis] speculoclaras, candorem merum.

**SPERARE** 2, p. 330. Compare Suet. Ner. 23 (citing Nero) *omnia se facienda fecisse sed eventum in manu esse Fortunae*; Ovid her. 19 (20), 44 *exitus in dis est*; met. 7, 23 *vivat, an ille | occidat, in dis est*.

**SPES** 2, p. 330. Compare anthol. Pal. 9, 620, 4 *ἀλπὶς ἀληθεῖης ἔστι μελιχροτέρη*.

**SPHINX.** Cassiod. var. 7, 7, 4 *facilius enim aestimare Sphingae aenigmata comprehendendi potuisse quam raptoris fugacem praesentiam reperire*.

**STATUA,** p. 331. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 7, 9 (M. 199, 654 A) *quavis statua taciturnior*.

**STENTOR,** p. 331. For Greek parallels see Wiesenthal, p. 45.

**STIMULUS** 1, p. 331. Beat. Petr. ep. 3 (M. 201, 1393 C) *ad insipientiam sibi contra stimulum calcitrantes*; Steph. Torn. suppl. ep. 13 (M. 211, 551) *tamquam contra stimulum calcitrare audemus*; for Greek parallels see J. Koch, p. 10.

**STIPES,** p. 332. Arnob. 2, 22, p. 66, 11 (Reiff.) *ligno . . . obtusior*; Sidon. Apoll. ep. 5, 7, 4 *ad iudicandum lignei*; Hier. adv. Rufin. 1, 30 (M. 23, 440 C) *ad unum stipitem cuncta iacula dirigo*.

**STUDIUM,** p. 332. Stat. silv. 2, 2, 73 *sua cuique voluptas*; Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 7, 3 (M. 199, 639 C) *et in hunc modum voluptate sua trahuntur plurima*. Verg. ecl. 2, 65 is cited by Augustin. ep. 17, 3 (M. 33, 84) and by Abbo Flor. ep. 14 (M. 139, 442 D); see also Tribukait p. 24.

**STYX.** Ovid met. 11, 500 *Stygia modo nigrior unda*; compare Arnob. adv. nat. 2, 30 p. 72, 22 (Reiff.) *tenebras Tartareas*.

**SUCCESSOR.** Vulcac. Avid. Cass. 2, 2 *scis enim proavi tui dictum: successorem suum nullus occidit*.

**SUDOR,** p. 334. Sen. d. 7, 25, 8 *sanguis et sudor*; Plin. n. h. 10, 198; see Woelflin, ALL. 3, 452.

**SULLA** 1, p. 334. Lucan 1, 326 *et docilis Sullam sceleris viciisse magistrum*.

**SUMMUS** 2. Publil.-Syr. 548 *quicquid futurum est summum, ab imo nascitur*; 390 *necesse est minima maximorum esse initia* (see Friedrich's note, p. 200); CIL. 4, 1870 *necesse est minima maximorum esse initia*.

[**SUPRA** 2. Ter. Andr. 120 *nil supra*; Eun. 427 *ut nil supra*; Macedonius ad August. ep. 154, 1 (M. 33, 666) *ut nihil supra sit*; compare Cic. ad Attic. 13, 19, 3 *ut nihil posset ultra*; ad fam. 14, 1, 4 *ut nihil possit ultra*. The expression may be held quasi-proverbial.]

SURSUM, p. 336. See Preuss, p. 29; for the use of *ἄνω κάτω* in Greek, H. Koch II. p. 25.

SUS 1, p. 336. Compare Plaut. Asin. 430 *erūs in hara, haud aedibus, habitat.*

SUUS, p. 337. Plin. n. h. 28, 67 *sua cuique autem, quod fas sit dixisse, maxtume prodest.*

SYBARIS, p. 338. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 8, 2 (M. 199, 713 D) *frugalitas apud Sybaritas fortassis odio foret; τὸ Συβαρίτῶν δαιτας*, see Graux Rev. Phil. 2, 221.

TACERE 1, p. 338. Hier. ep. 109, 2 *ut qui loqui nescit, discat aliquando reticere*; Othlo lib. prov. 19 (M. 146, 334 B) *tacere qui nescit, nescit et loqui*; dial. 50 (134 A); Ps.-Baeda lib. prov. (M. 80, 1111); Alvar. Cord. ep. 20 (M. 121, 513 A) *dum loqui nescis, tacere non vales*; Nicol. Clar. ep. 4 (M. 196, 1598 A) *quid eloquentia, si loqui et tacere non novimus*; Hildebert. de quat. virt. (M. 171, 1062 C) *rarius ipse loqui disce, tacere magis.*

TACERE 2, p. 339. Paulin. Petr. vit. Mart. 3, 336 *cor clamat, si lingua tacet*; Ennod. Euch. p. 395, 13 (H.) *muti loquimur et clamantes tacemus*; Claud. Mar. Vict. Aleth. 3, 596 *res ipsa tacens loquitur*; Orient. common. 1, 450 *solent ore tacente loqui*; Maxim. Taur. homil. 115 (M. 57, 521) *tacebat quidem lingua sed spiritu loquebatur*; Theobald. Stamp. ep. 1 (M. 163, 759) *tacentes clamamus* (citing Augustin.).

TACERE 3, p. 339. Ennod. ep. 9, 6, p. 232, 19 (H.) *clamant silentia sua*; amic. ad amic. ap. Thom. Cant. ep. 382 (M. 190, 718 D) *respondit quod nostrae gentis proverbium*; *quod taciturnus spiritum praetendit confitientis*; compare Caecil. 248 (Ribb.) *innocentia eloquentiast.*

TACERE 5 (compare TACERE 1). Ps.-Sen. de mor. 104 *auribus frequentius quam lingua utere*; Columban. monost. 33 (M. 80, 288) *saepius auditu instrueris quam voce fruaris*; Alcuin ep. 82 (M. 100, 267 C) *sciens dictum esse saepius auribus quam lingua utendum*; compare Pompon. 12 (Ribb.) *atque auscultare disce, si nescis dicere*; Dem. Cleob. 4 *φιλήκοος ἵσθι μᾶλλον ἢ φιλόλαλος*; see Brunco p. 31.<sup>1</sup>

TAGUS, p. 340. Eumen. act. grat. Constant. 14 (M. 8, 652 B) *quis Tagus quisve Pactolus tanto fluxerunt auro*; Claudian. 22, 230 (Jeep) *fulvaque intexta micantem | veste Tagum*; 12, 32 (Jeep) *Tagus intumescat auro*; compare HERMUS and PACTOLUS.

<sup>1</sup> Zwei lat. Spruchsammlungen, Bayreuth, 1885.

**TANAQUIL**, Sonny, ALL. 9, 77. Auson. ep. 31, 192 p. 301 (Peiper) nec Tanaquil mihi sed Lucretia coniunx.

**TANTALUS** n., p. 340. Apul. deo Socr. 22 Tantali vice in suis divitiis, inops, egens, cited by Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 6, 28 (M. 199, 632 D); for the proverbial use of the name Tantalus in Greek, see Koch, p. 47, Schmidt, p. 45, Wiesenthal, p. 15.

**TARENTUM**, p. 340. Compare Titin. 183 (Ribb.) Tarentinorum hortorum odores qui geris; compare **PAESTUM**.

**TARTARA**. Arnob. adv. nat. 2, 30 p. 72, 22 (Reiff.) tenebras Tartareas; anthol. Pal. 9, 289, 3 χθονίης δυοφερώτερα νυκτός; compare our 'Egyptian darkness'; Orest. trag. 492 Tartareis . . . tenebris; Dracont. 3, 402.

**TAURUS** 4. Sen. ben. 3, 27, 1 tauri et vituli omnes idem optant, that is, all, young and old (compare Otto, **PUER**). For a similar use of *vitulus* for a young man see Plaut. Asin. 667 agnellum, haedillum me tuom dic esse vel vitellum; Hor. c. 2, 8, 21 te suis matres metuunt iuvencis.

**TAURUS** 5. Ovid a. a. 2, 341 quem taurum metuis, vitulum mulcere solebas, has proverbial coloring.

**TELUM** 1, p. 342. Ovid am. 2, 14, 3 si sine Marte suis patiuntur vulnera telis; a. a. 3, 590 nec dubito, telis quin petar ipse meis; Sen. ep. 102, 7 in nos nostra tela mittuntur; d. 6, 20, 5 ut etiam de suo perirent; Trebell. Poll. tyr. trig. 8, 7 addidisse vero dicitur interemotor: hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti; Dracont. 4, 35 (PLM. 5, 137); Ioh. Sar. ep. 99 (M. 199, 90 B) quia nihil turpius est quam suis armis expugnari et quasi mucrone proprio iugulari; Gualbert. act. 211 (M. 146, 893 B) in nos nostrae reflectuntur sagittae; anthol. Pal. 10, 111 ὁ φθόνος αὐτὸς ἔαυτὸν ἔσις βελέεσσι δαμάζει; compare **SAGITTA**, Otto, p. 305.

**TEMPUS** 4, p. 343. Varro frag. hebd. 6, 3 (Baehr.) 'tempus nosce', inquit Mitylenis Pittacus ortus.

**TEMPUS** 5. Anth. Pal. supp. 4, 4, 1; Pythag. 47 ἵσθι ὡς οὐδεμίᾳ προσποίησις πολλῷ χρόνῳ λανθάνει; see Schenkl, Wiener Stud. 8, H. Koch II., p. 17.

**TEMPUS** 6, p. 343. Rather. Ver. ep. 5 (M. 136, 660 C) o tempora, o mores.

**TEMPUS** 7. Anthol. Pal. 9, 51, 1 αἰών πάντα φέρει.

**TENEBRAE**, p. 343. Plaut. Pseud. 981 credo, in tenebris conspicatus si sis me, abstineas manum.

**TENEDIUS** p. 343. Compare Sen. ep. 88, 38 ostendam multa securibus recidenda.

**TERRA** 1, p. 344. *Sen. d. 7, 11, 4* terrarum ac maris, ut isti vocant, bona conquirentis (Gertz, *concoquentis*); *Apul. florid. 15* remedia mortalibus latis pecuniis terra caeloque et mari conquisita; *Paulin. Nol. ep. 16, 10 p. 124, 3* (H.) omnibus caelo terraque regionibus pervagata cogitatione; *Gell. 6, 16, 1* quae elluones isti terra et mari conquirunt.

**TERRA** 2, p. 344. *Lactant. instit. 1, 11, 55* ignotis parentibus natos terrae filios nominemus; compare *Iuven. 6, 13* qui rupto robore nati | composite luto nullos habuere parentes.

**TESTA**, p. 346. *Hor. ep. 1, 2, 69* was a favorite quotation among mediaeval writers. It is found in *Ivo Carnot. ep. 7* (M. 162, 17 C); *Abaelard. ep. 9* (M. 178, 327 D); *Nicol. Clar. ep. 38* (M. 196, 1635 A); *Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 6, 4* (M. 199, 595 C); *7, 9* (655 B); *metal. 2, 7* (865 A); *vit. S. Ans. 4* (1014 B); *Petr. Bles. ep. 101* (M. 207, 312 B).

**THRAX.** The Thracians were proverbially quarrelsome, rough, and uncultivated; *Hor. c. 1, 27, 1* pugnare Thracum est; *epod. 5, 14* impube corpus, quale posset impia | mollire Thracum pectora (see Orelli's note to *c. 1, 27, 1*); Thracian hearts are called *impia* in *epod. 5, 14* perhaps in reference to the Greek proverb *Diogen. 5, 25* Θράκες ὄρκια οὐκ ἐπίστραται; see *Callimach. frag. 109, p. 376* (Schneider); similarly the Scythians are spoken of as fierce; *Claudian. 31, 135* (carm. min. 25, 135 Birt) tu quoque neu Scythicas infensis unguibus vias | exercere velis; *11, 25* quis vero acerbis horridior Scythis? *Propert. 3, 16 13* quisquis amator erit, Scythicus licet ambulet oris: | nemo adeo, ut noceat, barbarus esse volet; *Tibull. 2, 4, 91* barbara nec Scythiae tellus.

[**THYESTES** 2. *Hor. epod. 5, 86* misit Thyestea preces; *Cic. in Pis. 19, 43* Thyestea est ista execratio poetae, may perhaps refer to some proverbial expression.]

**THYLE**, p. 348. *Eumen. panegyr. Constant. 7* (M. 8, 627 B) nec Thulen ultimam ... dignabatur acquirere; see *Claudian. 24, 158; 5, 240*, (Jeep); *Plin. n. h. 1, 4, 104*; *ALL. 9, 78: 8, 37*.

**TIBIA.** *Lact. instit. 3, 14, 1* homo ille quem laudabit invenerit tamquam tibias ad fontem ut poetae aiunt; cf. *Ovid fast. 6, 701-3* and see Brandt-Laubmann's index under *proverbia*.

**TIGRIS** 2, Sonny, *ALL. 8, 493*. *Catull. 64, 154* quaenam te genuit sola sub rupe leaena; *60, 1* num te leaena montibus Libystinis | aut Scylla latrans . . . | tam dura mente procreavit? *Ovid her. 7, 38* te saevae progenuere ferae; *met. 8, 120* non genetrix Europa tibi est sed . . . | Armeniae tigres; *Sidon. Apoll. c. 5, 530*

cuius lac tigridis infans | Hyrcana sub rupe babit? Venant. Fort. 5, 6, 5 quem non humanitas flecteret quem partus tigridis non effudit; PLM. 4, p. 185 (Baehr.) thema Verg. durae tigrides . . . | te genuere virum.

**TIGRIS** 3. Claudian. rapt. Proserp. 2, 98 heu, fulvas animo transgressa leaenas; compare **TIGRIS** 2 and **BESTIA** 4.

**TIMON**. Sen. ep. 18, 7 Timoneas cenas et pauperum cellas.

**TIMOR**. Apul. met. 6, 26 nam timor ungulas mihi alas fecerat, sounds proverbial.

**TIMOR** 2. Verg. Aen. 4, 13 degeneres animos timor arguit, became a proverbial quotation; Prudent. psych. 248 mens humilis quam degenerem trepidatio prodit; Auson. ep. 31, p. 262, 26 (Peiper); incert. auct. panegyr. Constant. (M. 8, 664 A); Schol. Stat. Theb. 1, 445; Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 7, 18 (M. 199, 684 D); compare Petron. epigr. 98 (PLM. 4, 98 Baehr.) una est nobilitas argumentumque coloris | ingenui, timidas non habuisse manus.

**TIPPULA**, p. 349. Aldh. de sept. aenig. 14 D (M. 89, 199) sum levior pluma cedit cui tippula lymphae.

**TITHONUS**, p. 349. See Leutsch on Greg. Cypr. Leid. 3, 13 Τιθωνοῦ γῆπας; Lucian dial. mort. 7, 1 ἐπέρ τὸν Τιθωνὸν ξῆν; Schmidt p. 44, Wiesenthal, p. 50.

**TITIUS**, p. 349. See R. Heim, JJ. suppl.-bd. 19, 480, n. 1.

**TONSOR**, p. 350. Thom. Cant. ep. 159 (M. 190, 637, A) perspicua est et, ut dici solet, lippis et tonsoribus patens; Ioh. Sar. ep. 310 (M. 199, 367 B) quod, ut dici solet, lippis et tonsoribus notum sit; ep. 222 (250 B) cum illata sibi iniuria et violentia lippis et tonsoribus nota sit; Steph. Torn. ep. 3, 228, 336 (M. 211, 499) apolodus est lippis et tonsoribus patens.

**TORQUATUS**, as a type of ancient Roman; Sidon. Apoll. ep. 3, 8, 1 Brutos Torquatosque non pariunt saecula mea; Ennod. pro Syn. p. 327, 15 (H.) Curios, Torquatos, Camillos.

**TUBER** 1, p. 352. Alan. de Insul. lib. parab. 5 (M. 210, 590 C) ulceribus plenum primo se liberet ipsum, | postea verrucas rideat ille meas.

**UDUS**, p. 353. Ps.-Cypr. de dupl. martyr. 36, p. 244, 26 (H. vol. III) nunc fides multis natat in labiis.

**ULIXES**, p. 354. Plaut. Men. 902 parasitus . . . | meus Ulixes, suo qui regi tantum concivit mali; see Wiesenthal, p. 52.

**UMBRA** 3, p. 355. Plin. ep. 1, 23, 1 inanem umbram et sine honore nomen; 8, 24, 4 reliquam umbram et residuum libertatis nomen eripere durum . . . est; Hier. ep. 128, 3 sub nomine religi-

onis et umbra continentiae; ep. 118, 2 ludus et umbra certaminis; Foliot. ep. 79 (M. 190, 798 D) solam libertatis umbram habemus.

**UMBRA** 4. Alcuin ep. 139 (M. 100, 379 B) quia omnes huius vitae iucunditates velut umbra transeunt; Nicol. Clar. ep. 33 (M. 196, 1623 D) transierunt haec omnia velut umbra et singularis ille splendor velut fumus evanuit; see **FUMUS** 3.

**UNDA.** Hor. ep. 1, 2, 22 adversis rerum inmersabilis undis; Catull. 64, 62 (cf. 97); 65, 4; 68, 13; Lucret. 6, 34; 74; 3, 298; Verg. A. 4, 532; 564; 8, 19; Eurip. Medea 362 κλύδωνα κακῶν, Achill. Tat. 3, p. 68 (Jac.) πλήθει βαπτισθῆναι κακῶν; Diogen. 1, 8 ἀγαθῶν θάλασσα; see Leutsch, and Forbiger on Verg. A. 4, 532.

**UNGUICULUS**, p. 355. Compare Ovid a. a. 3, 794 sentiat ex imis Venerem resoluta medullis | femina; Rufin. anthol. Pal. 5, 14, 3-4 ψαύει δ' οὐκ ἄκροις τοῖς χείλεσιν, ἀλλ' ἐρίσασα | τὸ στόμα τὴν ψυχὴν ἐξ ὀνύχων ἀνάγει.

**UNGUICULUS** 2. Arnob. adv. nat. 2, 49, p. 87, 1 (Reiff.) quod unius unguiculi nullum perpetiatur dolorem; Sen. n. q. 6, 2, 4 unguiculi nos et ne totius quidem dolor . . . conficit; Fronto ep. ad Ant. 1, 2, p. 96, 14 (Nab.) qui vitam suam pro unguiculo tuo libenter dediderit; compare **UNGUIS** 4.

**UNGUIS** 1, p. 355. Hier. in Ps. 1, 5 (M. 24, 29 C) a pedibus usque ad verticem, id est ab imo usque ad summum; Adam. itin. Hier. 2 p. 229, 12 (Geyer) a vertice usque ad plantas; Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. prol. 6 (M. 199, 587 D) a capite . . . usque ad pedes; Nicol. Clar. ep. 38 (M. 196, 1634 A) a planta pedis usque ad verticem; Petr. Cell. ep. 171 (M. 202, 616 D) a capite usque in oram vestimenti; Fredegar. 3, 140, 1 per pede ad petram (per = ab); see Haag p. 75'; add also to Otto's note, p. 355, Aristoph. Plut. 649 ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν with Blaydes' note.

**UNGUIS** 4, p. 356. Hincmar. ep. 3 (M. 126, 49 D) a quibus . . . vel transverso ut dicitur; ungue; compare Propert. 3, 14, 30 nec digitum angustast inseruisse via; Hier. ep. 132, 12 (Augustin.) stadiis multis . . . aut uno palmo aut digito.

**UNGUIS** 6, p. 357. Ennod. ep. 5, 8, p. 131, 16 (H.) ad unguem ductus sermo; p. 409, 3 (H.) mores ad unguem ducti; c. 1, 8, 25, p. 530 (H.) formavit ad unguem; Cypr. Gall. gen. 27 hominem nostris faciamus in unguem vultibus adsimilem. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 5 prol. (M. 199, 539 A) non solent ad unguem grandia sine mora lustrari; Petr. Cell. ep. 1, 10 (M. 202, 413 D) quod sic

<sup>1</sup> Die Latinität Fredegars, Erlangen, 1898.

ad unguem episcopum abbas redarguere . . . praesumo; Philip. Harveng. ep. 13 (M. 203, 114 A) ad unguem expolitur; compare Sen. ep. 115, 2 iuvenes barba et coma intidos, de capsula totos, 'just out of the band-box'.

UNGUIS 7, Sonny, ALL. 8, 493. Propert. 3, 25, 4 ungue meam morso saepe querere fidem; Sidon. Apoll. ep. 9, 9, 14 digitis . . . Cleanthes propter unguem corrosis; c. 2, 170 arroso quicquid sapit ungue Cleanthes; Augustin. ep. 118, 1 (M. 33, 432) magna mora temporis fatigarent intentionem atque attererent ungues meos; Lucian dial. deor. 22, 1 δακῶν τὸν δάκτυλον; see Rowe p. 38.

UNGULA, p. 358. Compare Apost. 12, 63 ὅλως ποδί: ἐπὶ τῶν ταχέως ποιούντων; Niceph. Greg. hist. 3, 3, 5 ἔφυγον ὅλοις ποσίν.

UNUS 1, p. 358. Sen. ep. 81 8 unus e turba; Claud. Mam. ep. 1 p. 205, 1 (Eng.) etsi non omnium potior, unus ex multis; Euseb. Pamph. vit. Constant. 1, 44 (M. 8, 28 C) porro sedebat in medio tamquam unus e multis.

UNUS 2, p. 358. Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 7, 24 (M. 199, 703 C) unde Maro ut ab uno discas omnes.

UNUS 5, p. 358. Sen. ep. 120, 22 magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere . . . effice ut possis laudari, si minus, ut adgnosci; ep. 114, 26 quod nemo nostrum unum esse se cogitat; compare Ps.-Baeda lib. prov. (M. 90, 1103) non vivas aliter in solitudine, aliter in foro.

URCEUS, Sonny, ALL. 8, 493. Sid. Apoll. ep. 9, 16, 4 secundum regulam Flacci, ubi amphora coepit institui, urceus potius exisse videatur; Braulio ep. 44 (M. 80, 699) et, ut ait quidam, dum urceum facere nitor, amphoram finxit manus; ep. 11 (658 D); Taio ep. ad Eugen. Toletan. (M. 80, 727) et, ut ait quidam doctissimus, dum figuli rota currente urceum facere nititur, amphoram finxit manus; Phil. Harv. ep. 7 (M. 203, 60 B) amphora coepit institui, currente rota cur urceus exit? Hor. a. p. 22 is cited by Hier. ep. 27, 3.

USUS 1, p. 359. For Greek citations see H. Koch II. p. 17.

UTER, p. 359. Compare Verg. catal. 5 (7), 1 rhetorum ampullae.

UVA, p. 360. Iuven. 2, 81 is cited by Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 5, 10 (M. 199, 563 A) with the remark, quia a convictu mores formantur: ep. 231 (260 D); Petr. Bles. ep. 94 (M. 207, 294 B); with the thought compare Sen. d. 9, 1, 3 tam malorum quam bonorum longa conversatio amorem induit; see R. Heim, JJ. suppl.-bd. 19, p. 486, n. 1.

**UXOR.** Pers. 3, 43 quod proxima nesciat uxor; compare **SOROR.**

VADUM, p. 360. Symmach. ep. 6, 11, 2 aut si res in vado sunt, viam mihi . . . aperite; Hegesipp. 5, 7, 1 eoque fieri ut illius effectu fraudis in vado sit; see Rönsch, *Coll. Phil.* p. 48.

VAS, p. 361. Petr. Bles. ep. 70 (M. 207, 217 D) proverbialiter enim dicitur stultum est vas incrustare sincerum; Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 156, 237 (M. 211, 444) incrustare tendit sinceritatem famae praedicti viri; ep. 2, 164, 254 (453) non veritus incrustare veritatem.

VATES, p. 362. Eurip. Hel. 758 γνώμη δ' ἀρίστη μάντις η τ' εὐθουλία; see Tribukait, p. 6.

**VATINIUS.** Sen. d. 2, 2, 1 infra Vatinios posuisset; ep. 120, 19 quidam alterius Vatinii, alterius Catones sunt; see **CATILINA.**

VELLE 1, p. 362. Ovid am. 3, 11, 52 ut, quamvis nolim, cogar amare, velim; Sen. ep. 53, 3 vellet, nollet; ep. 117, 4 velint, nolint; d. 7, 4, 4 velit, nolit; 10, 8, 5 velis, nolis; Calp. Flacc. decl. 29 velis enim nolis; Ennod. vit. S. Epiph. p. 380, 22 (H.) velis nolis; p. 503, 23 (H.) volentes custodiunt et coactae; Sid. Apoll. ep. 9, 4, 3 velis, nolis; 9, 7, 1; 9, 11, 8. Sulpic. Sev. 2, 1, 9 velint, nolint; Auson. epigr. 56, 8 (Peiper) quod volo nolo vocant; Prudent. perist. 10, 70 nolis velisne; Gaius 2, 153, 157 sive velit, sive nolit;<sup>1</sup> incert. auct. panegyr. ad Maxim. et Constant. 1 (M. 8, 610 A) velis, nolis; Zacch. Christ. consult. 1, 29 (M. 20, 1098 B) velint, nolint; Hier. adv. Iovin. 2, 21 velis, nolis; ep. 48, 11 velitis, nolitis; Augustin. ep. 145, 8 (M. 33, 595) velint, nolint; Columban. serm. 3, 3 (M. 80, 237) velis, nolis; Fredegar. 1, 80, 14 vellit, nollit; 3, 159, 17 vellint, nollint<sup>2</sup>; Gelas. I. adv. Pelag. haer. 81; Bonifat. Mogunt. serm. 7 (M. 89, 857 A) velit aut nolit; Rather. Ver. prae loq. 3, 6 (M. 136, 225 C) velis, nolis; Dudo Decan. de gest. Norm. duc. prooem. (M. 141, 614 A) nolens volensque; Hermann. carm. de conflict. ov. et lin. (M. 143, 445 B) velis, nolis; Petr. Dam. ep. 1, 15, 29 (M. 144, 231) velint, nolint; ep. 6, 7, 191 (386) et velle, nolle, te suscipere non coegi; serm. 11, 54 (562) velit, nolit; Gualbert. act. 79 (M. 146, 845 A) velim, nolim; act. 349 (945) velis, nolis; Goffrid. Vindoc. ep. 4, 18 (M. 157, 161 C) velit, nolit; Bernard. Clar. (M. 183, 490 C); Thom. Cant. ep. 38 (M. 190, 499 C) velit, nolit; Alcuin, ep. 18 (M. 100, 174 D) volenti et nolenti; ep. 22 (184 D) volentes

<sup>1</sup> Rhein. Mus. 37, 88 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Haag, p. 61.

nolentes; ep. 225 (732 D) dum volens dum nolens aeternus erit; ep. 277 (850 D) quem nolens volens latere non poteris; Nicol. Clar. ep. 38 (M. 196, 1633 C) aut volens aut nolens; ep. 40 (1639 B) velis, nolis; ep. 45 (1646 A) vellem, nolle; Ioh. Sar. ep. 218 (M. 199, 243 C) velit, nolit; ep. 305 (360 A); Polycrat. 6, 4 (596 C) velis, nolis; 6, 12; 8, 11 (751 C); Petr. Cell. ep. 1, 36 (M. 202, 447 C) velis, nolis; ep. 1, 52 (447 A) velitis, nolitis; Phil. Harv. ep. 5 (M. 203, 41 B) velit, nolit; Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 145, 215 (M. 211, 431) velint, nolint; ep. 3, 234, 343 (503) nollemus vellemus; Eustath. Il. 443, 36 ἐκῶν ἀέκων;<sup>1</sup> anth. Pal. suppl. 4, 100, 7 κάνθ θέλης κάνθ μή θέλης; see further Goelzer, p. 73<sup>2</sup> and H. Koch II. p. 25.

VELLE 2, p. 362. Ovid ex Pont. 3, 4, 76 is cited by Hildebert. carm. misc. 1348 (M. 171, 1423 B) and by Thom. Cant. ep. 364 (M. 190, 692 D); with the thought compare Sen. ep. 71, 36 magna pars profectionis velle proficere;

VELUM 2, p. 363. See Friedlaender on Petron. p. 246.

VELUM 3, p. 363. Propert. 3, 9, 30 velorum plenos subtrahis ipse sinus; Ovid trist. 3, 4, 32 propositique, precor, contrahe vela tui; ex Pont. 1, 8, 72 et voti, quaeso, contrahe vela tui; Sen. d. 9, 4, 7 cogiturque vela contrahere; epigr. 17, 7 (PLM. 4, 61 Baehr.) contrahe vela; Claud. 8, 325 disce . . . ubi cornua tendi | aequius aut iterum flecti. Hier. adv. Iovin. 1, 3 (M. 23, 224) paulisper sinus contraham.

VELUM 4. Sen. ep. 30, 3 magnus gubernator et sciso navigat velo; compare Ovid ex Pont. 2, 3, 58 et quoniam non sunt ea qualia velles, | vela regis quassae qualiacunque ratis.

VENIRE, p. 363. Compare Sen. d. 2, 2, 2 non intellegebant se, dum vendunt, et venire.

VENTER 1, p. 363. Ennod. p. 404, 7 (H.): pinguia nam tenuem suffocant corpora sensum; Othlo lib. prov. 9 (M. 146, 316 A) incrassata caro gustat coelestia raro; Ps.-Baeda (M. 90, 1099).

VENTER 2, p. 364. Theobald. Stamp. ep. 4 (M. 163, 766 A) venter satur facile disputat de ieuniis; B. Baeda lib. prov. (M. 90, 1105).

VENTER 3, p. 364. Ennod. c. 2, 68, 3 mandare pergis, sed venter commoda nescit.

VENTUS 1, p. 364. Sen. ep. 99, 9 omni tempestate mobilius.

<sup>1</sup>Kurtz, p. 311.

<sup>2</sup> Grammaticae in Sulpic. Sev. Observationes, Paris, 1883.

**VENTUS 2**, p. 364. Tibull. (Lygdam.) 3, 6, 49 *periura ridet amantum | Iuppiter et ventos irrita ferre iubet*; Ovid a. a. 1, 388 *nec mea dicta rapax per mare ventus agit*; Stat. Theb. 2, 286 *inrita ventosae rapiebant verba procellae*; Paulin. Nol. 10, 114 *surda vocas et nulla rogas, levis hoc ferat aura | quod datur in nihilum, sine numine nomina Musas, | inrita ventosae rapiunt haec vota procellae*; Commod. carm. apol. 75 *clamamus in vacuum surdis referenda procellis*; Notiz. d. scavi 1888, 519 (Carm. Epigr. 950, 3 B) *i nunc, ventis tua gaudia, pupula, crede*; compare Juven. 12, 57 *i nunc et ventis animam committere*; Ioh. Sar. ep. 247 (M. 199, 291 D) *me ventis verba dedisse, res iudicat*.

**VENTUS 5**, p. 366. Sen. ben. 7, 23, 1 *qui . . . anteirent, cursibus auras*; Sedat. ep. ad Ruric. 8, p. 450, 14 (Eng.) *celeritate ventos et flumina praecursorum*; Aldh. de sept. aenigm. 14 D (M. 89, 198): *Zephyri velocior alis*; Nemes. e. 4, 14 *rapidisque fugacior euris*; Alcuin poet. Carol. 1, 257, 44 D. *velocior euro*; ep. 200 (688 Dümmler); Theodulph. 1, 527, 35, 13; Hildebert. (M. 171, 1354 A) *et velut aura fugit*;<sup>1</sup> Diomed. ars gram. 2 p. 461, 23 (K.) *velocior euro*; anthol. Pal. 16, 54, 4 *τέχνη πνεύματος ὀκυτέρα*; see C. H. Müller, l. c. p. 17.

**VENTUS 6**, Szel. p. 16. Compare Hier. ep. 138, 1 *tuis litteris . . . cognovi ventosque esse contrarios*.

**VENTUS 7**, Szel. p. 31; compare Apost. 12, 100 *δρυς ζητεῖς, ἀνέμος θηρεύεις: ἐπὶ τῶν μάτην κοπιώντων*; Ioh. Sar. ep. 170 (M. 199, 163 C) *ut opinione plebeia ventos sequereris in fastu mundano*.

**VENTUS 8**. CIL. 4, 1049 (carm. epigr. 944 B.) *alliget hic auras si quis obiurgat amantes*. Compare Zenob. 3, 17 *δικτύφ ἀνεμον θηρᾶν*; Diogen. 2, 40.

**VENTUS 9**. Columban. serm. 7, 2 (M. 80, 243) *in vanum ergo laborat qui talia pascit et in ventum seminat*; Alcuin moral. 25, 141 (M. 101, 632 A) *in vanum laborat et in ventum seminat*; compare HARENA 4, Otto.

[**VENTUS 10**. Ovid rem. am. 14 *gaudeat et vento naviget ille suo*; trist. 3, 5, 4 *nave mea suo, forsan, eunte vento may be held quasi-proverbial.*]

**VERBUM 1**, p. 366. Compare Philemon 37 (incert. fab. 11, 2) *τὸν μὴ λέγοντα τῶν δεόντων μηδὲ ἐν | μακρὸν νόμιζε κἄν δύ' εἴπη συλλαβάς*; so in Greek *τέτταρα* is used of a small number; see Blaydes to Aristoph. Acharn. 3 and F. Marion Crawford, *Marietta, a Maid of Venice*, Macmillan, 1901, p. 344, who notes a similar

<sup>1</sup> Woelflin, ALL. 6, 456.

use of the number four in modern Italian. For the use of *tres* for a small number in Latin compare Catull. 79, 4 si tria notorum savia reppererit; Plaut. Most. 357 trium nummum causa; for further remarks on the hyperbole of diminution see Egli p. 10.<sup>1</sup>

**VERBUM 2**, p. 367. Rufin. Aquil. apol. 1, 334 (M. 21, 563) verbum ex verbo transferre; Hier. ep. 28, 5 verbum interpretatur ad verbum; in M. 23, 1075 C de verbo ad verbum transtulimus; adv. Rufin. 1, 19 (M. 23, 432 A); 2, 29 (473 C); ep. 106, 3; 112, 22; 121, 10; adv. Ioh. Hier. 38. Greg. Magn. ep. 1, 29 (M. 77, 483) verbum ex verbo.

**VERBUM 3**, p. 367. Sulpic Sev. ep. de virgin. p. 247, 15 (H.) lapis emissus est sermo prolatus; correct citation of Augustin. 142, 3 (Sonny, ALL. 9, 79) to ep. 143, 4 (M. 33, 536); Valerian. homil. 5 (M. 52, 707 B) verborum vero iactus non revocari potest.

**VERBUM 5** (compare **VERBUM 1**). Plaut. Rud. 652 uno verbo absolvam: lenost. Merc. 602 uno verbo eloquere. Ter. Eun. 178 labascit victus uno verbo quam cito; Andr. 45; Cato r. r. 157, 7; Catull. 67, 15 non istuc satis est uno te dicere verbo; Cic. Phil. 2, 54 uno verbo; Ovid am. 2, 16, 11 verbo peccavimus uno; Tac. ann. 1, 42 Divus Iulius seditionem exercitus verbo uno compescuit; Plin. ep. 7, 6, 11 permittas mihi unum verbum adipisci; Arnob. adv. nat. 2, 11, p. 55, 28 (Reiff.).

**VERBUM 6**. Cato. frag. (Jord. p. 80, 2) rem tene, verba sequentur; compare Hor. a. p. 311 verbaque provisam rem non invit sequentur, and Porphyrius's remarks.

**VERBUM 7**. Arnob. adv. nat. 1, 22, p. 15, 16 (Reiff.) verba sunt haec, verba sunt; Sen. ben. 5, 20, 6 verba sunt ista.

**VERBUM 8**. Paulin. Nol. ep. 29, 9, p. 256, 5 (H.) nemini parvulum suum verbo, ut dici solet, alendum erudiendum tuendum mandare dignata est.

**VERBUM 9**. Ioh. Sar. metal. 1, 16 (M. 199, 846 B) servi comici utetur proverbio: bona verba quaeso; Ter. Andr. 204 bona verba quaeso; Tibull. 2, 2, 1 dicamus bona verba; see Heraeus Petron. p. 37.

**VERITAS 3**, p. 368. Ioh. Sar. ep. 193 (M. 199, 211 D) sed frequens est et multis vulgatum exemplis quia veritas odium parit; Petr. Cell. ep. 171 (M. 202, 622 B) attamen quia veritas odium parit, digito compesco labellum; Ter. Andr. 68 is cited by Rather.

<sup>1</sup> Die Hyperbel in den Komödien des Plautus und in Cic. Briefen an Atticus, Zug 1891.

Ver. praeloq. 3 prol. (M. 136, 219 B); Ps.-Baeda lib. prov. (M. 90, 1104).

VERITAS 4 (compare SALUS). Apul. met. 8, 7 multis caritatis nominibus veritatem ipsam fallere.

VERRES, as a type of a political rascal; Iuven. 3, 53 carus erit Verri, qui Verrem tempore quo vult | accusare potest; cited by Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 3, 12 (M. 199, 500 D).

VERUS, p. 368. Sen. ep. 66, 8 verius vero; compare ep. 66, 28 *plano nihil est planius*; Diogen. 4, 22 Δίκης δικαιότερος; anthol. Pal. 12, 62, 2 καλλιονή τὸ καλόν.

VERVEX, p. 369. Apul. met. 8, 25 vervecem, inquit, non asinum vides; Ioh. Sar. ep. 273 (M. 199, 319 B) ut Franciam nostram vervecum patriam credas, et Francos esse verveces.

VESPA, p. 369. With Otto's remarks compare the words of Baeda ep. 2 (M. 94, 664 A) quibus apte convenit illud vulgi proverbium quia vespae favos quidem facere cum possint non tamen in his mella sed potius venena thesaurizent. This is slightly at variance with Otto's explanation *leere, untaugliche*. The *favi* of bees and wasps look alike but are radically different; 'Satan sometimes appears as an angel of light'.

VESPER, p. 369. See Crusius, Herond. p. 14.

VIA 9. Sentent. Varronis 88 (Riese) nescit quo tendat, qui multas sequitur semitas; 92 nusquam deveniet qui quot videt sequitur calles.

VICINUS 1, p. 370. Compare Florus 416, 2 (PLM. 4, 347) sed malos faciunt malorum falsa contubernia.

VINCERE 1, p. 371. Ovid fast. 1, 523 victa tamen vinces, eversaque Troia resurges; Paulin. Nol. ep. 24, 17, p. 217, 13 (H.) victus vero vinces; compare Plin. n. h. 24, 5 vincendo victi sumus; Ps.-Lactant. de mort. persec. 16, p. 190, 5 (Brandt) hic est verus triumphus cum dominatores dominantur; Optat. Mil. 6, 8, p. 157, 7 (Ziwsa) captivae liberas capiunt et mortuae viventes occidunt; Plaut. Epid. 359 iam ipse cautor captus; Rud. 1262 praeda praedam duceret; Ovid a. a. 1, 84; anthol. Pal. 9, 94, 5 ἀγρευθεὶς ἔγρευσεν; Byzant. Spr. 44, ἐγίνετο ἐνάγων ἐναγόμενος; <sup>1</sup> see Koch p. 55.

VINCERE 2, p. 371. Publil.-Syr. 654 cum sese vincit rapiens, minime vincitur; 398 non vincitur, sed vincit qui cedit suis; Calp. Flacc. decl. 21 cede fratri, cede vel patri; victor eris, mihi crede, si cesseris.

<sup>1</sup> Krumbacher, Sitz.-Ber. München, Akad., 1887, p. 70.

VINUM 2, p. 372. Eustath. Il. 710, 14 οἶνος ἀνθρὸς ἔδειξε νόον; Il. 740, 14 οἶνος καὶ ἀληθεῖα;<sup>1</sup> Maxim. Planud. prov. 10 ἐξ ἀνοήτου καὶ μεθύοντος μαθήσῃ τὸ ἀληθές; Alc. frag. 53, οἶνος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις δίοπτρον; Aesch. frag. 384 κάτοπτρον εἴδοντες χαλκός ἐστ', οἶνος δὲ νοῦ; see Tribukait p. 3.

VIPERA 1, p. 372; see Crusius, Herond. p. 127; cf. Gaufrid. ep. 32 (M. 89, 861 C) haec est inimica Deo . . . haec est mus in pera, ignis in sinu, serpens in gremio; Evagr. sent. (M. 20, 1183 B) non remoretur scorpius in sinu tuo.

VIPERA 4; as a term of reproach. Afran 282 (Ribb.<sup>2</sup>); Iuven. 6, 641 saevissima viperā; Flor. 2, 30, 38 tandem, inquit, viperā sibilare desisti; see Donat. on Ter. Eun. 5, 1, 9; J. Koch, p. 23; compare ASINUS and CANIS.

VIR, p. 373. Curt. 6, 11, 25 (Philotas) credite mihi et nos, si viri sumus, a diis adoptabimur; Petron. 113 si vir fueris, non ibis ad spintriam; Ter. Adel. 934 si tu sis homo; Adel. 107 et tu illum tuom, si essem homo, sineres nunc facere; Sid. Apoll. ep. 5, 10, 4 si quid hominis habet; Tertull. adv. nat. 17, p. 70, 26 (Wiss.) veni, si quis es, demerge ferrum in infantem; Gualbert. act. 382 (M. 146, 958) si vere viri estis; compare Petron. 81 nam aut vir ego liberque non sum, aut noxis sanguine parentabo; Sen. ep. 51, 12 quisquis vir est; Plaut. epid. 493 pugnasti, homo's; schol. Pers. 1, 87 an tu, Romane, vir non es; see Crusius, Untersuch. zu Herond. p. 100 and compare MULIER 5.

VIRTUS 1, p. 373. Sen. d. 7, 9, 4 quid petam ex virtute? ipsam . . . est ipsa pretium sui; ben. 4, 1, 3 rerum honestarum pretium in ipsis est; clem. 1, 1, 1 nec ullum virtutum pretium dignum illis extra ipsas sit; Hildebert. carm. misc. 1346 (M. 171, 1421 A) virtutem pretium qui putet esse sui; Steph. Torn. ep. 2, 60, 77 (M. 211, 353) ibi virtus est pretium sui; for the opposite idea note Ovid met. 2, 782 (invidia) suppliciumque suum est; Ps.-Sen. de mor. 64 (Haase) nequitia ipsa sui poena est; Sen. ep. 81, 22 (Attalus): malitia ipsa maximam partem veneni sui babit; see SCELUS.

VIRTUS 4, p. 374. Ovid trist. 4, 3, 80 appetit virtus arguiturque malis. Compare Sen. d. 5, 8, 6 iratus cito sine adversario desiit; Ovid ex Pont. 2, 3, 53 et bene uti pugnes, bene pugnans efficit hostis.

VITA 1, p. 374. Lucan 5, 739 vita mihi dulcior; Iuven. 13, 180

<sup>1</sup> Kurtz, p. 316.

vita iucundius ipsa; Catull. 68, 106; Petron. 84, 1 (PLM. 4, 92); anth. Pal. suppl. 2, 432, 1; CIL. 10, 7570, 5; anthol. Lat. 474, 1; CIL. 14, 3940 (carm. epigr. 1214, 6 B) non delecta magis qu[o] mihi vita fuit]; Gualbert. act. 224 (M. 146, 898 B) fratrem qui te, ut suam diligit vitam; Ovid trist. 5, 14, 20 mihi me coniunx carior; Plaut. Truc. 887 quem ego, ecastor, mage amo quam me; Ter. Adel. 39 quod sit carius quam ipse et sibi; Curt. 6, 4, 11 carior spiritu; anthol. Lat. 1, 669, 3 R. carior vita ipsa; Claud. 26, 308 (Jeep) hic carior omni luce gener; see Woelflin, ALL. 6, 455 and 459; compare ANIMUS 1.

VITIUM 2, p. 376. Compare Apost. 16, 49 τὴν Χάρυθιν ἐκφυγῶν τὴν Σκύλλη περιέπεσον.

VITIUM 3. Compare Liv. 22, 12 adfingens vicina virtutibus virtia; Sen. clem. 1, 3, 1 nam cum sint virtia quaedam virtutes imitantia; Ovid a. a. 2, 662 et lateat vitium proximitate boni; rem. am. 323 et mala sunt vicina bonis; see H. Koch II., p. 15.

VITRUM 1. Compare Ovid met. 13, 795 lucidior glacie; Bonifat. Mogunt. ep. 4 (M. 89, 696 B) candidior crystallo.

VIVERE 3. Othlo lib. prov. 12 (M. 146, 318 A) militia est vita hominis super terram; Ps.-Baeda lib. prov. (M. 90, 1101); cf. Ovid a. a. 2, 233 militiae species amor est; cf. am. 1, 9.

VIVERE 5, p. 377. Pers. 4, 52 tecum habita, cited also by Petr. Bles. ep. 107 (M. 207, 331 C); Hor. sat. 2, 7, 112 adde quod idem | non horam tecum esse potes; Gualbert. act. 267 (M. 146, 915 A) secumque, ut dicitur, vivere; Aristot. Eth. Nicom. 9, 4 συνδιάγειν δὲ τοιοῦτος ἔαντφ βούλεται.

VIVERE 6, (compare DIES 8.) Mart. 1, 15, 12 sera nimis vita est crastina; vive hodie; inscrisp. Hisp. 391 vivete victuri moneo mors omnibus instat. Gruter inscrisp. 1, p. 609 (Orelli 4807) dum vivimus, vivamus; (Orelli 4806) vivere in dies et horas; Petr. Dam. ep. 2, 13, 76 (M. 144, 279) a quibus scilicet haec saepe dicuntur; vive dum vivis.

VIVERE 7. Iuven. 8, 84 propter vitam vivendi perdere causas; Plin. ep. 5, 5, 4 nam qui voluptatibus dediti quasi in diem vivunt, vivendi causas cotidie finiunt, cited by Ioh. Sar. ep. 207 (M. 199 232 A) and by Petr. Bles. ep. 85 (M. 207, 361 A); Iuven. 8, 84 by Ioh. Sar. Polycrat. 9, 8 (M. 199, 739 A); ep. 186 (196 D) qui ut qualitercumque vivant, vivendi . . . abiiciunt causas; compare Iul. Val. p. 169, 18 (Kübler) quibus tamen informamur ad bene vivendum ut vivendi omnino causas et remedia non perdamus.

**VIVERE** 8. Vergil Aen. 3, 653 *vixi*, et quem dederat cursum Fortuna, peregi, became a semi-proverbial quotation; Sen. ep. 12, 9; d. 7, 19, 1; CIL. 11, 3752; 12, 287; 14, 316; compare Hor. c. 3, 29, 41 *ille potens sui | laetusque deget, cui licet in diem | dixisse 'vixi'.*

**VIVUS** 6. Ovid trist. 5, 7, 17 *verissima Martis imago*; Claudian 26, 468 *verus ductor adest et vivida Martis imago*.

**VOLUPTAS.** Plaut. Amphitr. 635 *voluptatem ut maeror comes sequatur*; Fronto ep. 4, 9, p. 71, 19 (Nab.) est igitur vera Socrati opinio, doloribus ferme *voluptatibus conexas esse*; Symmach. ep. 4, 34, 2 *legem natura dixit ut curae voluptatem sequantur*.

**VOX** 1, p. 378. Hier. ad Augustin. ep. 165, 1 (M. 33, 719) *viva*, ut aiunt, *voce*; Braulio ep. 12 (M. 80, 659 B) nam habet nescio quid latentis *energiae viva vox*; Greg. pap. III. ep. 5 (M. 89, 583 A) *viva voce*; Aldh. ep. 4 (M. 89, 95); ep. 10 (99); ep. 12 (101); Alcuin ep. 18 (M. 100, 171); ep. 145 (388 A); Udalr. ep. 1 (M. 141, 1322); ep. 2 (1323); Petr. Dam. ep. 6, 13 (M. 144, 397); 6, 23 (408); 8, 1 (462) *vivae conversationis*; serm. 17, 85 (594) *viva vox*; Gualbert. act. 62 (M. 146, 788 D); Anselm. Cant. ep. 2, 18 (M. 159, 45 B); Theob. Stamp. ep. 2 (M. 163, 764 C); Thom. Cant. ep. 7 (M. 190, 447 C); ep. 30 (492 C); ep. 39 (500 B); ep. 41 (502 D); ep. 130 (604 C); amic. ad Thom. Cant. ep. 463 (1028 A); Foliot. ep. 185 (887 C); Wibald. Stab. ep. 3 (M. 189, 1129 D); Ioh. Sar. ep. 324 (M. 199, 375 D); Polycrat. 3, 11 (499 C); Phil. Harv. ep. 12 (M. 203, 97 D); Petr. Bles. ep. 132 (M. 207, 391 C); Adam. Pers. ep. 6 (M. 211, 599 and 600); compare Sisibut. ep. 1, 5 (M. 80, 366) *vivida voce increpatus*; Bonifat. Mogunt. ep. 30 (M. 89, 728) *viva verba*; Ennod. p. 412, 24 (H.) qui, ut aiunt, *viva hominum testimonia non formidant*; Symmach. ep. 5, 32, 1 *iucunditatem vivi sermonis*; Alcuin ep. 32 (p. 244 Dümmler) *viva voce*; ep. 39 (259); 90 (379); 133 (523); 150 (569); 196 (681).

**VOX** 3. Petr. Bles. ep. 15 (M. 207, 54 C) *scriptum est*; **vox** *populi*, **vox** *Dei*.

**VULPES** 1, p. 397. Ioh. Sar. ep. 193 (M. 199, 212 C) *in pelle vulpeculae laborat improbitas*; Hor. a. p. 437 is cited ep. 290 (334 B) and Polycrat. 6, 29 (634 D); compare Hier. in Rufin. 3, 7 (M. 23, 484 B) *vulpecularum insidias* Pacian. ep. 2 (M. 13, 1058 D) *fraus enim quasi vulpeculae, vis autem leonis est*; Ioh. Sar. ep. 202 (M. 199, 225 C) citing Ofellus: *qui coarat vulpi sulcos variare necesse est*. For Greek parallels see J. Koch, p. 17.

VULPES 2, p. 379. Maxim. Taurin. homil. 87 (M. 57, 452) (haeretici) sunt enim sicut vulpes dolosi . . . omnis haereticus mutat verba, sed non mores; Ioh. Sar. ep. 202 (M. 199, 225 C) utique vetus proverbium est; vulpem posse mutare pilum, non animum; Polycrat. 3, 14 (510 C); cf. Hier. ep. 22, 16 nunc vero tantum veste mutata pristina non mutata ambitio.

VULCANUS, Sonny, ALL. 8, 493. Cassiod. var. 5, 1, 2 enses qui pulchritudine sui putentur esse Vulcani.

VULTURIUS 1, p. 379. Aemil. Scaur. in Q. Caep. (Meyer p. 240): nefarius vulturius, patriae parricida. Compare Ovid tr. 1, 6, 11 and C. H. Müller, p. 52.

M. C. SUTPHEN.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Owing to the death of Dr. Sutphen, on Aug. 31, 1901, the last three numbers of this article did not receive the benefit of his own revising hand. See p. 392 of this Journal.

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## NECROLOGY.

MORRIS CRATER SUTPHEN.

MAY 4, 1869-AUGUST 31, 1901.

MORRIS CRATER SUTPHEN, son of Eleanor B. and the late Morris S. Sutphen, was born in the city of New York on the fourth of May, 1869. He received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from Princeton College in 1890 and in 1893, the degree of Master of Arts. After a course of special study in the classics, preceded by four years of service as teacher in the Morris Academy, at Morristown, New Jersey, and interrupted by two years of service as Instructor in Latin in Williams College, he received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the Johns Hopkins University in June, 1899, and was immediately appointed an Instructor in Latin in the same institution. On the evening of Saturday, August 31, 1901, he was returning from a short trip with some friends when the small cat-boat, containing the party, struck Highlands bridge, which spans the Shrewsbury river near Oceanic, New Jersey, and was instantly capsized. The accident occurred only a short distance from the shore and Sutphen was a good swimmer, but after a brief interval he was seen to sink without a struggle. He was buried at Morristown, the home of his mother.

Dr. Sutphen was a scholar of brilliant and rapid fulfilment as well as of rare promise. Upon his appointment he was at once associated in the advanced work and gave a course of lectures on a theme suggested by the subject of his dissertation, 'A Study of the Diction and Phraseology of L. Annaeus Seneca with special reference to the *Sermo Cotidianus*'—left in MS at the time of his death. Only the first number of his 'Further Contributions to a Collection of Latin Proverbs' could receive the benefit of his own final revision. An article on 'Magic in Theokritos and Vergil'—also left in MS—was his contribution to the 'Studies in Honor of Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve' (pp. 315-327). It seems fitting to bear witness here to his labor of love upon that volume, to the ardent enthusiasm, the tireless energy which, as secretary of the editorial committee, he devoted to its inception and furtherance.

To the world at large, his early and tragic death must needs bring home the pathos of youth summoned to resign the fruition of its hopes and all its dreams of the future; to those friends who knew the strength and sweetness of his character, to the writer of these lines, with whom he was closely associated in work and in life, his loss comes as a lasting and personal bereavement.

KIRBY FLOWER SMITH.

## II.—THE TORCH-RACE.

### A COMMENTARY ON THE AGAMEMNON OF AISCHYLOS

vv. 324-326.<sup>1</sup>

Τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνοι πυρὸς σέλας,  
θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὥπασεν·

\* \* \*

τὰ δ' ἵερὰ νύκτωρ ἡ μεθ' ἡμέραν τελεῖς;  
νύκτωρ τὰ πολλά· σεμνότητ' ἔχει σκότος·

To-day athletic exercises are advocated for the most part for hygienic rather than for artistic, religious, or political reasons; that is, they are valued merely as a means for the promotion of health and the general development of the physique, in order that the growth of both mind and body may be symmetrical. The art of gymnastics as practiced among the ancient Greeks was in striking contrast with these our modern views and aims. For the object of Hellenic Gymnastics was partly purely artistic, and hence Gymnastic necessarily led to Agonistic; partly religious, and consequently the art was intimately connected with the Mythos and with popular beliefs and superstitions; partly political, and hence while it was for the present an index to the patriotic sentiments of the *νεολαία* and an evidence of noble and praiseworthy endeavor on their part, it also gave promise to the state of the future of a race of citizens distinguished for mental and physical power and moral force. Among the Hellenic contests or *ἀγῶνες*, in which the right to participate was conditioned by a highly developed and almost perfect physique, must be reckoned the Lampas or Torch-race. But whereas the gymnic agon was professedly secular or political in its tendency, the Lampas, being so intimately connected with religious tradition and mythos, was

<sup>1</sup> τοιούδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι  
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλον διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοι·  
νικῷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμῶν.

spiritual or religious. The Lampas or Torch-race is purely Hellenic in its origin, and can not be traced back to the Orient or to Egypt, as can so many features of Hellenic religion.<sup>1</sup>

What was the torch-race? This question must suggest itself to every reader of the fire-signals of Aischylos, to every one, at least, who endeavors to understand his author thoroughly. The answers given by the exegetes to his natural curiosity on the subject only serve to create in him a feeling of perplexed dissatisfaction. This question, it is hoped, will be answered in all its bearings in the following pages.

The origin of the torch-race may be traced to the desire on the part of mankind to express their gratitude to Titan Prometheus by the institution of a festival in his honor which should illustrate in a characteristic and striking manner the way in which the human race became possessed of the civilizing element of fire.

For legends tell us that Prometheus, having stolen fire from heaven, concealed it in a reed and ran back to earth as swiftly as his heels could carry him, swinging the reed to and fro as he ran in order to keep alive the precious spark. It was in commemoration of this course of Prometheus from heaven to earth<sup>2</sup> that the popular festival of the torch-race was instituted, a simple but appropriate memorial-feast in honor of him, who, by his happy theft, had become the father of all civilization and the original institutor of the arts and sciences which beautify and ennable human life, and which owe their existence to the moulding and purifying influence of fire.<sup>3</sup> It must be admitted, however, that

<sup>1</sup> Gymnastic games were held, it is true, by the ancient Egyptians (Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, etc. II, p. 293), and Herodotus mentions a fire-festival celebrated in honor of Neith, especially at Saïs, but also in the rest of Egypt as well: *ἔτειν δὲ πόλιν ἐπεὰν συλλεχθέωσι, τῆς θυσίης ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ λίχνα καίοντι πάντες πολλὰ ἵπαθρια περὶ τὰ δόματα κίνδυνοι... καὶ τῷ ὥρᾳ οὐνομα κέεται λυχνοκατη.* οἱ δὲ ἀν μὴ ἔλθωσι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐς τὴν πανήγυριν ταῦτην, φυλάσσοντες τὴν νύκτα τῆς θυσίης καίοντοι καὶ αὐτοὶ πάντες τὰ λίχνα, καὶ οὕτω οὐκ ἐν Σάι μονῆ καίεται ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν Αἴγυπτον, *Hdt. II, 62*; but it is clear that these festivals were in no way akin to the Lampas of Greece.

<sup>2</sup> *Hygini Astronomicon 2.15*: *Itaque caeteris remotis venit ad Iovis ignem, quo diminuto et in ferulam coniecto, laetus, ut volare, non currere videretur, ferulam iactans, ne spiritus interclusus vaporibus extingueret in angustia lumen. Praeterea totum a certatione ludorum cursoribus instituerunt ex Promethei consuetudine, ut current lampadem iactantes. Cf. Eur. Phoen. 1122 and Soph. Oed. Col. 56.*

<sup>3</sup> *Aesch. Prom. 109 sqq.*: *ναρθηκοπλήρωτον δὲ θηρώματι πυρὸς πηγὴν κλοπαίαν, ἦ διδάσκαλος τέχνης πάσης βροτοίς πέφηνε καὶ μέγας πόρος.*

the running and swinging of the reed is a fiction of comparatively late date. Hesiod knows nothing about it, and simply relates the theft of the fire and its concealment in a hollow reed.<sup>1</sup> But still, be this as it may, the very details of the contest, that is, a race and lighted torches, make it reasonably certain that the theft of fire and the course of Prometheus is the original idea of the Lampas.<sup>2</sup>

Still another very satisfactory reason why Prometheus should be honored by a *gymnastic festival* is given by Philostratos, who tells us that Prometheus was the originator of gymnastics in general, for, having made men of clay, he found it necessary to put them through a course of gymnastic exercise, in order that their clay bodies might become supple and be fused into a compactly united and congruent whole.<sup>3</sup>

From the cult of Titan Prometheus the Lampas soon passed over into and became a fixed factor in the festivals of the other fire-gods. Naturally it was first adopted into the cult of Hephaistos. For as the God of the forge he was the first to apply fire to metals,

<sup>1</sup> Hes. Opp. 48 sqq.: *κρύψε δὲ πῦρ· τὸ μὲν αὐτὶς ἐν ταῖς Ἱαπετοῖο ἐκλεψ* ἀνθρώπους Διὸς πάρα μητιβεντος ἐν κοιλῷ νάρθηκι, λαθὼν Δία τερπικέραυνον, and Hes. Theog. 566 sqq.: ἀλλά μιν ἐξαπάτησεν ἐν ταῖς Ἱαπετοῖο, κλέψας ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς τηλέσκοπον αἴγην ἐν κοιλῷ νάρθηκι.

<sup>2</sup> It is in this character that the terms *δαδοῦχος* and *πυρφόρος* are applied to him, so Philostr. vit. Sophist. Teubn. ed. II, p. 104: *ἱψηλῆι ἄρον, ἀνθρωπε, τὴν δᾶδα. τὶ βιάζῃ καὶ κατάγεις κάτω καὶ βασανίζεις τὸ πῦρ; οὐράνιον ἔστιν, αἰθέριον ἔστω, πρὸς τὸ ξνγγενὲς ἔρχεται τὸ πῦρ. οὐ κατάγει νεκροὺς, ἀλλ' ἀνάγει θεούς. ίω Προμηθεὺς δαδοῦχε καὶ πυρφόρε, οὐά σον τὸ δῶρον ὑβρίζεται· νεκροῖς ἀναισθῆτος ἀναμίγνυται. ἐπάρηξον βοήθησον κλέψον, εἰ δωματόν, κάκειθεν τὸ πῦρ.* This is spoken against burial by fire. It seems that Kallias, a member of the wealthy and distinguished Athenian family in which the dignity of *δαδοῦχος* in the Eleusinian mysteries was hereditary, had forbidden burial by fire, on the ground that the heavenly element became polluted by contact with dead bodies. Compare also Soph. Oed. Col. 56: *ἐν δ' ὁ πυρφόρος θεὸς Τιτᾶν Προμηθεὺς.*

<sup>3</sup> Philostr. Teubn. ed. II, p. 270: ... γένεσις δὲ αὐτῆς (viz. γυμναστικῆς) τὸ φῦναι τὸν ἀνθρώπου παλαῖσαι τε ἱκανὸν καὶ πυκτεῖσαι καὶ δραμεῖν ὥρθον . . . οὐτως ἥγιαμενα καὶ τὴν γυμναστικὴν ξνγγενεστάτην τε εἶναι καὶ συμφνᾶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. καὶ λόγος δὲ ἀδεῖται τις, ὡς γυμναστικὴ μὲν οὖπω εἰη, Προμηθεὺς δὲ εἰη καὶ γυμνάσαιτο μὲν ὁ Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος, . . . καὶ οἱ πλασθέντες δὲ ἐκ (πηλοῦ ὑπὸ) Προμηθέως ἀνθρώποι οὐδε ἄρα [οὐτοῖ] εἰεν οἱ (ἐν) τῷ πηλῷ γυμνασάμενοι [ἐν ᾧ ἡσαν], (οὐδε) πλάττεοδαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως φῶντο ἐπειδὴ τὰ σώματα αὐτοῖς ἡ γυμναστικὴ ἐπιτήδειά τε καὶ ξυγκείμενα ἐποίει. Here may also be added the words of Prometheus in Lucian, Prom. 13: καὶ τὸ ζημιώμα δρῆς ἡλίκον, εἰ ἐκ πηλοῦ ζῆσα ἐποίησα καὶ τὸ τέως ἀκίνητον ἐς κίνησιν ἤγαγον.

and to teach men how to melt and mould metal at will.<sup>1</sup> His whole handicraft was dependent on and conditioned by an accurate knowledge of the power of fire and its influence on metals. Consequently it is easily conceivable that the devotees of the divine blacksmith should honor him by a festival so appropriate and to which he had so valid a claim. In fact nothing more is known concerning the Hephaisteia than that a torch-race was held at their celebration.<sup>2</sup>

Athene took up fire where Hephaistos left it and, carrying its use still a step further, taught men what fire could do when applied to the other useful and ornamental arts. In an ideal sense she represents the fire of heaven, the divine godlike light that illuminates all things both in the physical world and in the world of thought. She was also originally a typification of the lightning which burst forth from the thunder-clouds of her father Zeus. It was through the connivance and actual assistance of Athene that Prometheus was enabled to scale the heights of heaven; and according to some it was she who lighted the torch for him at the chariot wheel of Helios (cf. Serv. ad Verg. Eclog. VI, 42). Being thus so intimately connected with Prometheus it is not surprising to find her honored with a torch-race.

These three, Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Athene, were the fire-gods properly speaking. From their service the Lampas soon passed over into the cults of the light-gods Artemis-Bendis and Pan.

The cultus of Artemis-Bendis originated in the worship of the

<sup>1</sup> Harpokration s. v. λαμπάς: "Ιστρος δ' ἐν πρώτη τῶν Ατθίδων, εἰπὸν ὡς ἐν τῷ τῶν Ἀπατούριων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναῖοι οἱ καλλισταὶ στολὰς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμεμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἑστίας, ἴμνονται τὸν Ἡφαίστου θέοντες (so Valesius for MS θέοντες), ἵπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντα (so Bekker for MS κατανοήσαντος, which is due to the scribe who did not notice that τοῦ belonged to the infinitive) τὴν χρείαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους (he taught others after he had learned himself). And similarly Photios s. v. λαμπάδος: "Ιστρος δέ φοισιν λαμπάδα νομίσαι ποιεῖν πρώτον Ἀθηναῖον, Ἡφαίστῳ θέοντας (compare the θέοντες in the passage just cited from Harpokration. Both Photios and Suidas have θέοντας, but this is clearly a corruptela for the correct θέοντας seeing that the whole passage of Istros has been badly garbled by both Suidas and Photios), ἵπόμνημα τοῦ κατανοήσαντος τὴν χρείαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους. And Suidas s. v. λαμπάδος in the same words.

<sup>2</sup> So Themist. de Theod. human.: φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελονυμένην λαμπαδοφορίαν. C. I. A. III, 111: Ἡφαίστια τὸν ἐφήβους λαμπάδα νικήσας, etc. Other passages will be cited in the sequel.

moon,<sup>1</sup> as did that of her brother Apollo in the worship of the sun. It is in her character of moon-goddess that a torch-race was held in her honor.<sup>2</sup>

But that the place of honor among these deities was accorded to Prometheus is clear from the Scholiast to Sophocles, who informs us that in the Academy at Athens there was an *old building* (*παλαιὸν θύρυμα*) with an altar, where Prometheus, Hephaistos, and Athene were all worshiped in common. Now near the entrance to this building there was an *old* pedestal on which

<sup>1</sup> Her epithet of *δίλογχος*, as some thought, was applied to her, because, being the Moon, she had two lights, her own moonlight and the reflected light of the sun; cf. Hesych. s. v. *δίλογχος*: *οἱ δὲ δύο φῶτα ἔχει, τὸ ίδιον καὶ τοῦ ἥλιου. τὴν γὰρ σελήνην Βενδῖν καὶ Ἀρτεμιν νομίζουσιν.*

<sup>2</sup> There is no lack of examples of the introduction of strange gods into Greece, especially during the Hellenistic period, when Baal of Tarsos and Jehovah of the Jews enjoyed equal honors with Zeus of Hellas. In most cases the worship of such strange gods was confined to a limited number of votaries, and their cults were tolerated at the outset simply as cults in which private persons alone were interested. But with the lapse of time the religious sentiment of the Greeks grew less exclusive, and many foreign cults were formally recognized by the state and accorded a place of honor in the long list of national fasti. As instances may be cited the cults of Bendis, Anubis, Attys, Mithras, and Men, the Moon-God of Syria, all of whom, much to the disgust of Hermes and Zeus in Lucian, were the happy possessors of statues of solid gold, very heavy and very valuable, while the rats could hold high carnival in the hollow cavities of the wooden *ξάβα* or chryselephantine statues of the Olympic Gods (Luc. Iup. Trag. § 8: *ἐοίκασιν, ὁ Ζεῦ, οἱ βαρβαρικοὶ προεδρεύσειν μόνοι· ὡς τοὺς γε Ἐλληνας ὅρῃς ὅποιοι εἰσι, χαρίεντες μὲν καὶ εὐπρόσωποι καὶ κατὰ τέχνην ἐσχηματισμένοι, λίθινοι δὲ ἡ χαλκοῖ ὅμοιως ἀπαντεῖς ἡ οἱ γε πολυτελέστατοι αὐτῶν ἐλεφάντινοι ὄλιγον δοσον τοῦ χρυσοῦν ἀποστιλθούστες, ὡς ἐπικεχρόσθαι καὶ ἐπηλυγάσθαι μόνον, τὰ δὲ ἔνδον ὑπέξυλοι καὶ οὐτοὶ, μνᾶν ἀγέλας δλας ἐμπολιτενομένας σκέποντες· ἡ Βενδῖς δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ ὁ Ἀνονβίς ἐκενοσὶ καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀττις καὶ ὁ Μίθρης καὶ ὁ Μῆν ὄλοι ὄλόχρυσοι καὶ βαρεῖς καὶ πολυτίμογοι ὡς ἀληθῶς). Strabo, not to mention St. Paul, calls especial attention to the remarkable hospitality of the Athenians towards strange Gods (Strab. p. 471: *Αθηναῖοι δ' ὥσπερ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα φιλοξενοῦντες διατελοῦσιν, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοὺς θεοὺς. πολλὰ γὰρ τῶν ξενικῶν λερῶν παρεδέξαντο ὡστε καὶ ἐκωμῳδήθησαν· καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰ Θρᾳκια καὶ τὰ Φρίγια. τῶν μὲν γὰρ Βενδείων Πλάτων μέμνηται τῶν δὲ Φρυγίων Δημοσθένης διαβάλλων τὴν Αἰσχίνου μητέρα κ. τ. λ.). But of all these the introduction of the Thracian goddess Bendis (J. Grimm, in den Berliner Monatsberichten 1859, p. 515 ff., identifies her with Freya—Vanadis, the moon-goddess of the Northmen) is the most remarkable example of the *φιλοξενία* of the Athenians, because of the great popularity the cultus soon enjoyed. Even in very early times the Greeks and Thracians came into contact with each other in manifold ways, and according to Homer in an especial manner during the Trojan war. In later times the relations between the two peoples were of an intimate nature, nor was this intimacy confined to**

Prometheus and Hephaistos were represented in bas-relief, and it is very significant for our purpose, that the precedence was given to Prometheus, by the fact that he occupied the foremost position and was represented as an old man with a sceptre in his right hand, while Hephaistos was represented as a youth and in the second position.<sup>1</sup>

the natural intercourse between the Thracians and the Greek colonies on the Thracian sea-board, but Thracian slaves and Thracian merchants were numerous in Athens and the sea-port Peiraeus (cf. C. I. A. III 2493—2496. 3619). The *παιδαγωγὸς* of Alkibiades was a Thracian (Plato, *Alcib.* p. 122, b: *σοὶ δ', ὁ Ἀλκιβιάδης, Περικλῆς ἐπέστησε παιδαγωγὸν . . . τὸν ἀχρειότατον ἵππο γῆρας, Ζάπυρον τὸν Θρῆκα*); Thracian nurses were much sought after at Athens and of course it lay to some extent in their hands to form the character and give shape and direction to the religious principles and prejudices of their charges (that these nurses were remembered with pious affection by their charges in after years is evidenced by the touching tribute paid to his nurse Melitta by Hippocrates C. I. G. 808). It was quite natural for these Thracian people to bring their national manners and customs, and their national Gods with them. It was through them primarily that the Thracian goddess Artemis-Bendis took up her abode in the city of the violet crown. Bendis, so far as can now be known, is first mentioned by Kratinos in a passage preserved by Hesychios s. v. *δίλογχος* (*τὴν Βενδίνην οὐτὸν Κρατίνος ἐν Θράτταις ἐκάλεσεν κ. τ. λ.*). The general opinion of the grammarians and the usage of such authors as mention the name of the goddess agree that it should be written *Βενδίς* (so Herodian Teubn. ed. II, p. 760—761: *τὰ εἰς ἣς περισπλέμενον θηλυκὰ διὰ τῶν δός κλίνεται, καὶ εἰς ἣ μόνως ἔχει τὴν αἰτιατικὴν οἰον* *Βενδίδος* *Βενδίνη* κ. τ. λ.). The later grammarians Laskaris (L. III, gramm. graec.) and Choiroboskos (MS. Coisl. 176 fol. 75 v.) sustain Herodian, but Theodosios p. 113, ed. Goettling, differs with them and writes *Βένδίς* *Βένδύδος*: *τῶν γὰρ εἰς ἣς ὄνομάτων δοσα εἰσὶ κύρια διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν κλίνονται* · *τὸ μὲν Πάρις καὶ τὸ Ἀδωνις καὶ τὸ Βένδις.* ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ *Κοίνονφις* καὶ τὸ *Σέφονονφις* κύρια ὄνόματα διὰ τῶν δός κλίνονται · *Πάριδος, Ἀδώνιδος, Βένδιδος, Κοινόνφιδος.* But here the accent may be a blunder of the copyist; Goettling takes it as such. The Bendideion (concerning the accent of the word see Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 1343 s. v. *Ἀσκληπιεῖον*) was situated in Munychia, according to Xenophon Hell. 2, 4, 11: *οἱ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀστεως εἰς τὴν Ἰπποδάμειον ἀγοράν ἐλθόντες πρῶτον μὲν συνετάξαντο, ὥστε ἐμπλῆσαι τὴν ὁδὸν ἡ φέρει πρός τε τὸ ιερὸν τῆς Μοννυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ Βενδίδειον.* According to this it was located somewhere near the present fort or church of St. Elias.

<sup>1</sup> Schol. Soph. Oed. Col. 56: *Περὶ τοῦ τὸν Προμηθέα περὶ τὴν Ἀκαδημειαν καὶ τὸν Κολωνὸν ἰδρύσθαι, Ἀπολλόδωρος γράφει οὕτω τῇ πρότγ. Συντιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ, καθάπερ ὁ Ἡφαιστος· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ παλαιὸν ἰδρυμα καὶ βωμὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Θεοῦ. Δείκνυται δὲ καὶ βάσις ἀρχαία κατὰ τὴν εἰσόδον, ἐν ᾧ τοῦ τε Προμηθέως ἐστὶ τύπος καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαιστον· Πεποίηται δὲ (ώς καὶ Δνοιμαχίδης φησίν) ὁ μὲν Προμηθέως πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἐν δεξιᾳ σκῆπτρον ἔχων, ὁ δὲ Ἡφαιστος νέος καὶ δεύτερος· καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν κοινός ἔστιν ἐν τῇ βάσει ἀποτετυπω-*

From this passage it is clear that the oldest Athenians considered Prometheus as the original fire-god and honored him as such not only in their fire-festivals but also in their art.<sup>1</sup>

Pan was also honored by a torch-race because he too is a light-god; he is the shepherd of the starry flocks of heaven, and therefore the patron god of earthly shepherds; as an "ethereal fructifying principle" he is a symbol of the power of the sun-heat, the fire of heaven. It was because he is a god of eternal fire that fire was kept constantly burning in his sanctuaries.<sup>2</sup> As

*μένος*. Prometheus made men of clay and water; at the command of Zeus Hephaistos made Pandora, the first woman, of clay and tears. Can it be that the bas-relief on this pedestal is to be interpreted as referring to them in their common character of makers of men?

<sup>1</sup> In Lucian, Prometheus complains that while there are plenty of temples in honor of Zeus, Apollo, and even of Hermes, there are none in honor of him, the great benefactor of the race. In answer to the insinuation that by the creation of man he had wrought great mischief to the gods, Prometheus argues that the creation of man by him was not only not hurtful to the authority of the gods, but on the contrary, so far from making war on the gods, man had made the world prosperous and happy, had built cities, had made the earth to blossom by the peaceful pursuits of agriculture, had filled the sea with ships and the islands with inhabitants, and besides that they had everywhere instituted sacrifices and festivals and erected altars and temples in honor of the very gods who feared lest they might be dethroned by the creatures of Prometheus, while he, their maker, was left unhonored by temples (Luc. Prom. 14: . . . ἀπανταχοῦ δὲ βωμὸς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ναοῦς καὶ πανηγύρεις· μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγνιάι,  
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί.

καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὲν ἐμαντῷ μόνῳ κτῆμα τοῦτο ἐπλασάμην, ἐπλεονέκτονν ισως, νννὶ δὲ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν φέρων κατέθηκα ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς· μᾶλλον δὲ Διὸς μὲν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἡρας καὶ σοῦ δέ, ὡς Ἐρμῆ, νεῶς ιδεῖν ἀπανταχοῦ ἐστι, Προμηθέως δὲ οὐδαμοῦ). There was some cause, it is true, for his complaint, but still, as we have seen in connection with the altar and old building at Colonus, he was not wholly unhonored in this respect. It is doubtless to this building that Sallustius Pythagoreus refers in the argument to the Oed. Col. of Sophocles, where he mentions a *Ιερὸν* of Prometheus (*ἐπεὶ καὶ Ποσειδῶνός ἐστιν ιερὸν ἱππιον καὶ Προμηθέως*). It must be noted also that one MS of the Scholiast to Sophocles ad loc. supra cit. reads *παλαιὸν ἴδρυμα καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει*. Certainly the Panopeans had a temple and statue in honor of Prometheus (Paus. X 4, 3: *πλινθὸν ὄμης οἰκημα οὐ μέγα, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ λίθον τοῦ Πεντέλησην ἀγαλμα, δν Ἀσκληπιόν, οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα εἶναι φασιν*). The Panopeans also preserved specimens of the earth from which Prometheus made men (Paus. X 4, 3).

<sup>2</sup> Paus. VIII, 37, 8: Ἐντεῖθεν δὲ ἀναβήσῃ διὰ κλίμακος ἐξ ιερὸν Πανός (near Akakesion) . . . παρὰ τοῦτῳ Πανὶ πῦρ οὐ ποτε ἀποσβεννύμενον καίεται, and Paus. V, 15, 9: ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ Πρωτανείῳ (at Olympia) παριέντων ἐξ τὸ οικημα, ἐνθα σφίσιν ἡ ἔστια, Πανός ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ τῆς ἐσόδου βωμός. ἐστι δὲ ἡ ἔστια τέφρας καὶ αὐτῇ πεποιημένη, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῆς πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσάν τε ἡμέραν καὶ ἐν πάσῃ νυκτὶ ὥσαντως καίεται.

a light-god it was possible for him to commence a love-affair with Artemis, which he inaugurated by presenting that coy maiden with half of his flocks.<sup>1</sup> His epithets of *Φάνης* in Greek and *Lucidus* in Latin certainly owe their origin to the fact that Pan was a light-god.<sup>2</sup>

But however just may have been Pan's claim to a place among the fire-festivals of Athens, it is certain that he was not honored with a *Lampas* until after the battle of Marathon. This neglect was resented by him, for when Pheidippides had come to Mt. Parthenion above Tegea Pan accosted him and upbraided the Athenians for their ungrateful neglect of him who had already been helpful to them and would continue to be in the future.<sup>3</sup> Pan kept his word, for by his timely appearance on the scene of action at Marathon he so thoroughly frightened the Persians as to cause their utter defeat, and from that day to this a demoralized retreat has been called a *panic* in remembrance of Pan.<sup>4</sup> In token of gratitude for this timely succor, and in pursuance of Pan's wish as expressed to Pheidippides, the Athenians erected a sanctuary in a grotto<sup>5</sup> on the northwestern slope of the Acropolis, and instituted a yearly torch-race in his honor.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Verg. *Georg.* 3, 391: *Munere sic niveo lanae, si credere dignum est, Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit in nemora alta vocans; nec tu aspernata vocantem, etc.* And Probus on this passage: *Pan Mercurii filius, cum Lunam concupisset, et haberet optimum pecus, poscente ea partem pecoris pro concubitu, dicitur pollicitus, et duas partes fecisse gregum, quarum alteram candidorem, sed lanae crassioris. Lunam deceptam candore deterius pecus abduxisse, ut poeta significat.*

<sup>2</sup> Indeed the Greek epithet looks something like a pun on his name, for the word *φανός*, a lantern or torch, is also written *πανός*, cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 280; Eur. *Ion*, 195. This is also directly stated by Phrynicos in Bekk. *Anec. Gr.* s. v. *λυχνοῦχος*: *φανός δὲ φάκελός τινων συνθεδεμένος καὶ ἡμένος. οὐ καὶ διὰ τοῦ π.*

<sup>3</sup> Hdt. 6, 105: *περὶ τὸ Παρθένιον δρος τὸ ὑπὲρ Τεγέης ὁ Πάν περιπίπτει. βώσαντα δὲ τὸ οὐνομα τοῦ Φειδιππίδεω τὸν Πάνα 'Αθηναίοισι κελεῦσαι ἀπαγγεῖλαι, δι' οὐ τι ἔωντο οὐδεμίαν ἐπιμελεῖν ποιεῖνται ἔννοτος εἰνόντος 'Αθηναίοισι καὶ πολλαχῆ γενομένον σφι ἡδη χρησίμον, τὰ δὲ ἔτι καὶ ἐσομένον.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the couplet of Simonides fr. 116:

*τὸν τραγύπονν ἐμὲ Πάνα, τὸν 'Αρκάδα, τὸν κατὰ Μήδων,  
τὸν μετ' 'Αθηναίων στήσατο Μίλτιάδης.*

<sup>5</sup> The grotto was doubtless chosen because it was a very ancient custom to worship Pan in caves and grottoes. Thus Porphyrios de antro Nympharum 20: *Σπήλαια τοίνυν καὶ ἄντρα τῶν παλαιοτάτων πρὶν καὶ ναοὺς ἐπινοῆσαι θεοῖς ἀφοσιούντων· καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ μὲν Κουρήτων Διτί, ἐν 'Αρκαδίᾳ δὲ Σελήνη καὶ Πανὶ Δινείῳ.*

<sup>6</sup> Hdt. 6, 105: *καὶ ταῦτα μὲν 'Αθηναῖοι, καταστάντων σφι εὖ ἡδη τῶν πρηγμάτων, πιστεύσαντες εἶναι ἀληθέα ιδρύσαντο ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλι Πανὸς ιρόν, καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ*

It seems remarkable that Helios, the sun, was not honored by a torch-race, inasmuch as he was certainly a light-god of the first magnitude. If asked for an explanation of this apparent neglect we shall have to assume with Brönsted<sup>1</sup> that the ruling notion in the conception of the fire and light divinities in the Attic religion was not so much external, attractive, and genial warmth, as it was the internal, germinating, vivifying, and creating principle or power of fire. Brönsted's theory is altogether plausible, but in attempting to account for this apparent neglect of Helios, still another important factor must be taken into consideration, and that is the fact that among the Greeks in general, but especially the Athenians, Helios was more a *simple personification of the sun*, than a deity who was worshiped by sacrifice and festival.<sup>2</sup>

It can be proved, according to what we have already seen, that in Athens a torch-race took place regularly at five different

ταῦτης τῆς ἀγγελίης θυσίγοι ἐπετείουσι καὶ λαμπάδι ίλασκονται. Paus. I. 28, 4: καταβᾶσι δὲ οὐκ ἐς τὴν κάτω πόλιν, ἀλλ' ὅσον ὑπὸ τὰ προπύλαια, πηγὴ τε ὑδατός ἐστι καὶ πλησίον Ἀπόλλωνος ιερὸν ἐν σπηλαιῷ καὶ Πανός. From these words of Pausanias the grotto of Pan may easily be recognized even at the present day. (It was excavated in 1896 by the Greek Arch. Society.) Marathon was one of Pan's favorite haunts and the battle was fought, so to speak, on his private property, not far from the cave in which are the curious rocks known as Pan's goat-pasture (*αἰπόλιον*), because they looked and still look like a herd of goats. Cf. Paus. I. 32, 6: ὀλίγον δὲ ἀπωτέρω τοῦ πεδίου Πανός ἐστιν ὄρος καὶ σπήλαιον θέας ἀξιον· ἐσοδος μὲν ἐς αὐτὸν στενή, παρελθοῦσι δέ εἰσιν οικοι καὶ λοντρὰ καὶ τὸ καλούμενον Πανὸς αἰπόλιον, πέτραι τὰ πολλὰ αἰξῖν εἰκασμέναι.

<sup>1</sup> Reise und Untersuchungen II, 289 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Here it may be added that Brönsted in pursuance of the theory just mentioned attempts to prove that the torch-race in honor of Prometheus had an esoteric signification and symbolized the inner fire by which Prometheus put life into man. Thus Athene belonged to the fire-gods more on account of her relations to Erichthonios and Hephaistos (the Hephaistos-Erichthonios affair is supposed to symbolize the union of the heavenly ethereal light, represented by Athene, with the earthly visible fire, represented by Hephaistos), rather than on account of her recognized character of Grand Patron and Superintendent of the arts and sciences. In a similar manner the presence of the torch-race in the cult of Artemis-Bendis may be accounted for not so much from the fact that she was the Moon-Goddess as from the standpoint of her business of *Δοχεία, Εἰλείθυια, Αντίζωνος*, for as a midwife she brings to light. It was for this reason that she was called *σελασφόρος, φωσφόρος, lucifera, lucina*. Certainly the fact that Artemis is represented in art with a torch (she is *φιλολάμπαδος*) in her hand has reference to this her maieutic profession. It may be noted that the moon was thought to exercise great influence on all terrestrial life; on animals and plants; on the organism of the human frame, and especially on that of the female man.

festivals of the fire- and light-gods. These festivals are the Prometheia, Hephaisteia, Panathenaia, Bendideia and festival of Pan.<sup>1</sup> The Lampas on horse-back at the celebration of the Bendideia at the Peiraeus is mentioned frequently enough, but the remarks of the scholiast to Plato have led to erroneous views in regard to the deity thus honored, so that some explanations are necessary. We gather from a passage of Plato that the torch-race on horse-back took place for the first time in Plato's own time; he makes Socrates say: I went down to the Peiraeus yesterday with Glaukon the son of Ariston, in order to pray to *the Goddess* and also at the same time to see in what manner they would conduct the festival, because they are celebrating it now for the first time.<sup>2</sup> Then follows a conversation in which Polemarchos tries to persuade Socrates to remain over night with him as his guest at the Peiraeus. The hard-headed Socrates, however, remains firm in his refusal of the proffered hospitality, whereupon Adeimantos adds as a further inducement: But do you not know that there is to be a torch-race on horse-back this evening in honor of *the Goddess*? On horse-back? That is new indeed! Will the horsemen carry torches and pass them to one another while they vie with each other on their horses? Yes, said Polemar-

<sup>1</sup> Photios s. v. λαμπάδος: τρεῖς ἀγονοῖς ἑορτάς λαμπάδος· Παναθηναῖος· Ἡφαιστείους· καὶ Προμηθείους. Photios s. v. λαμπάς: ἀγῶν 'Αθήνησι Πανὶ καὶ Προμηθεῖ αὐγόμενος. Suidas s. v. λαμπάδος: τρεῖς ἀγονοῖς ἑορτάς λαμπάδος, Παναθηναῖος, Ἡφαιστείους καὶ Προμηθείους. Bekker Anec. Graec. p. 277 s. v. λαμπάς καὶ λαμπάδος: λαμπάδας ἀγονοῖς Αθηναῖοι Παναθηναῖοι, Ἡφαιστείους, Προμηθείους εἰσὶ δὲ αὐται ἑορταί· λαμπαδηφόροι δὲ καλοῦνται, διτάς λαμπάδας ἔφερον. Schol. Ar. Ran. 131: λαμπαδηφόροι δὲ γίνονται τρεῖς ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, Αθηνᾶς, Ἡφαίστου, Προμηθέους. Κεραμεικὸς τόπος Αθήνησιν δικον συνετέλον οι Αθηναῖοι κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγόνα. Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087: ("Εδει γάρ λαμπαδούχειν ἐν Ἡφαιστείους καὶ Παναθηναῖος.) ἐν Αθήναις ἐστὶ γυμνάσιον, ἐν ώ ἐλαμπαδηφόρον οι γυμναζόμενοι. διτάς λαμπάδος ἀγῶν Αθήνησιν ἡγετο, Προμηθεα, Ἡφαίστεια, Παναθηναία. Harpocration s. v. λαμπάς: Λυσίας ἐν τῷ κατ' Εὐφίμου τρεῖς ἀγονοῖς Αθηναῖοι ἑορτάς λαμπάδος, Παναθηναῖος καὶ Ἡφαιστείους καὶ Προμηθείους. Themistios de Theod. human.: καὶ τότε ἐγὼ μόνον ἥσθιμην φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελουμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν, καὶ διὰ πομπίμων ἐξ ἀλλων εἰς ἀλλον, σταδίους τόσους καὶ τόσους, ὡσπερ φρυκτωρίας διαπεμπομένην. Libanios Declam. XV: Μηδ' ὀράσθω τοίνυν ὁ βωμός, μέχρις ἀνθεραπείηται Παναθηναῖοι μὲν Αθηνᾶ, Μυστηρίοις δὲ Δημήτηρ, τῷ Δαμπάδι δὲ ὁ Πάν. Psellus in Physic. V. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Plato, Rep. 327, A: κατέβην χθὲς εἰς Πειραιά μετὰ Γλαύκωνος τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος, προσενέζόμενός τε τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἀμα τὴν ἑορτὴν βουλόμενος θεάσασθαι τίνα τρόπον ποιήσουσιν, ἀτε τῦν πρώτον ἀγοντες.

chos.<sup>1</sup> Now it will be noticed that in the remarks of Plato, just cited, the goddess, in whose honor the race was to be held has been named simply as *the Goddess*, and, inasmuch as the Athenians meant Athene whenever they spoke of *the Goddess*, the Scholiast to Plato, and after him most of those who have written upon the subject, understood the words of Plato as referring to Athene and the smaller Panathenaia, which he states were held at the Peiraeus,<sup>2</sup> adding that the Bendideia followed upon the smaller Panathenaia.<sup>3</sup> But from the Republic of Plato itself it becomes clear that the torch-race in question was to take place at the festival of Artemis-Bendis and not at the smaller Panathenaia.<sup>4</sup> However, even if Plato himself had left the least doubt as to which festival he had in mind, we have sufficient data to refute the Scholiast and those who follow him in referring the equestrian torch-race to the Panathenaia. Origenes, referring to the remarks of Plato just cited, states that Socrates and his companions went down to the Peiraeus to worship the goddess Artemis and to see the festival of the Bendideia.<sup>5</sup> St. Athanasios gives vent to his righteous indignation at the thought that "Plato, whom the Greeks deemed so wise," should go down to the Peiraeus with Socrates to worship Artemis, a goddess made with hands.<sup>6</sup> Simplikios also distinctly states that the festival of the torch-race at the Peiraeus was the Bendideia,<sup>7</sup> and Proklos not only characterizes the festival as the Bendideia, but even mentions the date of its celebration.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Plat. Rep. 328, A: Ἀρά γε . . . οὐδ' ιστε ὅτι λαμπάς ἔσται πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ; 'Αφ' ἵππων; . . . καὶ νῦν γε τοῦτο· λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλάμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις; . . . Οὕτως, ἐφη ὁ Πολέμαρχος.

<sup>2</sup> Schol. Plat. ad loc. cit.: ἐορτὴν ἐνταῦθα τὴν τῶν μικρῶν Παναθηναίων φησίν . . . and again: τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Παναθηναία κατὰ τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἐτέλονν.

<sup>3</sup> ἀ δὴ τοῖς Βενδιδείοις καλονομένοις εἶπετο.

<sup>4</sup> Plat. Rep. 354, A: ταῦτα δὴ σοι, ἐφη, ὁ Σώκρατες, εἰστιάσθω ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδείοις.

<sup>5</sup> Orig. adv. Celsum VI, p. 277: καὶ οἱ τοιαῦτα περὶ τοῦ πρώτου ἀγαθοῦ γράψαντες (that is, Plato, or Socrates and his companions) καταβαίνοντιν εἰς Πειραιά, προσενέζόμενοι ὡς θεῷ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι· καὶ ὀφέμενοι τὴν ὑπὸ Βενδιδείων ἐπιτελονυμένην πανήγυριν.

<sup>6</sup> St. Athanas. contra gentes 10, fin.: καὶ τό γε θαυμαστόν, ὅτι καὶ ὁ πάνυ παρ' Ἑλλησι σοφὸς καὶ πολλὰ κανχησάμενος, ὡς περὶ θεοῦ διανοηθεὶς ὁ Πλάτων, εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ μετὰ Σωκράτους κατέρχεται, τὴν ἀνθρώπων τέχνη πλασθεῖσαν Ἀρτεμιν προσκυνήσων.

<sup>7</sup> Simplic. ad Physic. V, 4: τάχα τῆς ἐν Πειραιῇ λαμπάδος τῆς ἐν Βενδιδείοις μνημονεύει.

<sup>8</sup> Proclus in Timaeum I, 9: δῆλοι δὲ ἐκ τούτων εἰσὶ καὶ οἱ χρόνοι τῶν διαλόγων, τῆς τε Πολιτείας καὶ τοῦ Τιμαίου, εἰπερ ἡ μὲν ἐν τοῖς Βενδιδείοις ὑπόκειται τοῖς ἐν

The torch-races which took place on the occasion of the celebration of the Apatouria, Anthesteria, Epitaphia, and Theisia—festivals in honor of deities who had no connection with fire—were certainly of minor importance. The origin of the torch-races at these festivals is not clear, but possibly their institution was due to the great popularity which the Lampas enjoyed at the other festivals; certainly they are mentioned very infrequently. Istros in the passage preserved by Harpokration vouches for the Lampas at the Apatouria.<sup>1</sup> The second day of the Apatouria was devoted to the gods in general, and as we learn from this passage of Istros, the torch-race in the Apatouria was the part of the festival devoted to Hephaistos.

The Lampas at the Anthesteria rests on the authority of an inscription first published by Ludwig Ross.<sup>2</sup>

The Lampas at the Hermaia rests on the authority of an inscription published by Köhler.<sup>3</sup>

*Πειραιεῖ δρωμένοις, δὲ ἐν τῇ ἐξῆς τῶν Βενδίδειν. ὅτι γὰρ τὰ ἐν Πειραιῇ Βενδίδεια τῇ ἐνάτῃ ἐπὶ δεκάτῃ Θαργηλιῶνος, διηλογοῦσιν οἱ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν γράψαντες.* The accuracy of the date given by Proklos is a question which cannot be entered upon here. It may be noted that Proklos (in Tim. 27) also has the following: 'Αριστοτέλης δὲ Ρόδιος μαρτυρεῖ τὰ μὲν ἐν Πειραιῇ Βενδίδεια τῇ εἰκάδι τοῦ Θαργηλιῶνος ἐπιτελεῖσθαι κ. τ. λ. In spite of all the evidence cited above it is really astonishing that Weiske (Prometheus und sein Mythenkreis p. 537, ff.) could write the following words: "Das von Plato erwähnte Fackelrennen zu Pferd gehört nicht den Bendideen, sondern ebenfalls den kleinen jährlichen Panathenäen, also nicht der Artemis-Bendis, sondern der Athena an."

<sup>1</sup> Harp. s. v. *λαμπάς*: 'Ιστρος δὲ ἐν πρώτῃ τῶν Ἀτθίδων, εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῷ τῶν Ἀπατούριων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολάς ἐνδεδυκότες, λαβόντες ἡμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ἵμονοι τὸν Ἡφαιστον θέοντες, ὑπέμνημα τοῦ κατανόησαντα τὴν χρείαν τοῦ πυρὸς διδάξαι τοὺς ἄλλους. This point—in regard to the Apatouria—has been omitted both by Suidas and Photios, who have their information from the same source as Harpokration, namely Istros. It has been denied that this was a torch-race, from the fact that the garments of the participants, of which special mention is made, were not suited to a race. It is true that both Suidas and Photios have *θέοντας* instead of *θέοντας*, but the passage has been garbled and disfigured by them almost beyond recognition, and Valesius' correction of Harpokration, *θέοντες* for *θέοντας* (see p. 396), seems to me convincing.

<sup>2</sup> Demen, p. 55. No. 29: ἐπὶ ἀρχοντος Σέξτου, κοσμητεύοντος Ἐρεννίου Κορνηλίου Ἀζημέως Φλάβιος Πρόκλος γυμνασιαρχῆσας τῶν Ἀνθεστηρίων τὴν λαμπάδα ἀνέθηκε κ. τ. λ. The inscription was found not far from Phyle, in the convent Παναγία τῆς Χαστιᾶς of the village Chastia.

<sup>3</sup> In the Mittheilungen, 1883, p. 226 = C. I. A. ii. 1223: Εὐμαρείδης Εὐφάνον Εἴωνημενδης λαμπάδι νικήσας Ἐρμαία ἀγωνοθετοῦντος.

The Llampas at the Epitaphia is also based on the authority of inscriptions; that it was a race is proved by the fact that there was a victory.<sup>1</sup> The same is true of the torch-race at the Theseia.<sup>2</sup>

These latter are festivals of non-fire deities in which we should not expect to find a torch-race, consequently especial attention is called to the fact that the inscriptions cited as authorities were dedicated in honor of *victories won in the Llampas*. It is inconceivable how there could have been a victory without a race; and hence, whether we wish it or not, we shall have to succumb to the burden of proof and acknowledge that a *torch-race*, nothing less, was actually held at the festivals just mentioned.

Let us now turn our attention to an examination of the details of the torch-race. It is difficult to settle all the questions that arise concerning the torch-race, or even to arrive at reasonable certainty in regard to all of its details, because of the insufficiency, not to mention the disagreement, of our authorities. Still the task is not altogether hopeless.

There were two kinds of torch-race, one on horse-back, the other on foot. The race on horse-back has already been sufficiently discussed. If we examine the torch-race on foot we shall find that it was subdivided into two kinds. The first kind is vouched for by Pausanias: "In the Academy," says Pausanias, "there is an altar of Prometheus; from it towards the city a race is run with burning torches. The point of the contest is to run (swiftly) and keep the torch burning at the same time. But if the torch goes out in the hands of the first racer, he loses the victory on that account, and then the second runner may be the victor;

<sup>1</sup> C. I. A. III, 106: 'Αντίοχος Φαιδρίου Φλυεὺς Ἐπιτάφια λαμπάδα νεικήσας κ. τ. λ., and C. I. A. III, 108: 'Εράτων Ἐράτωνος Αἰξινεὺς τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἐπιτάφια νικήσας ἀνέθηκεν κ. τ. λ., C. I. A. III, 110: ὁ δεῖνα Προβαλίσιος τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν ἀνδρῶν Ἐπιτάφια νικήσας κ. τ. λ., Ephemeris No. 4097, 8: οἱ ἐφῆβοι ἔδραμον δὲ καὶ τὴν λαμπάδα τοῖς ἐπιταρίους πρὸς τὸν ξένοντος ἐφῆβους οὐς καὶ ἐνίκων κ. τ. λ. and in C. I. A. III, 118 λαμπάδα must doubtless be restored.

<sup>2</sup> C. I. A. III, 107: 'Εράτωνος Αἰξινεὺς τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν παρεντάκτων Θῆσεια νικήσας ἀνέθηκεν κ. τ. λ. C. I. A. III, 109: 'Ο δεῖνα Προβαλίσιος τὴν λαμπάδα τῶν παρεντάκτων Θῆσεια νικήσας κ. τ. λ.; and Φιλίστωρ (σύγγραμμα φιλολογικόν) II, p. 132: Κόνων Κόνωνος Κειριάδης εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Μιλτιάδης Ζωίλον Μαραθώνιος χειροτονηθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου Θῆσείων ἀγωνοθέτης εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Φαιδρίου ἀρχοντος τὴν τε πομπὴν ἐπεμψεν εἰσχήμονα καὶ τὴν Θυσίαν συνετέλεσεν τῷ Θησεὶ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τῆς λαμπάδος καὶ τοῦ γυμνικοῦ ἀγῶνος ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν κ. τ. λ..

but if he too allows his torch to go out, the third racer gains the victory, and if none reach the goal with burning torch, no one gains the victory."<sup>1</sup> From this passage may be gathered the following. The contestants were all supplied with burning torches at the starting-point; the start was made at the same time or one at a time and the race for each one of the participants was the whole distance between the starting-point and the goal, that is, there were no intermediate relays of racers at stated intervals along the line between the starting-point and the goal, so that the contest lay solely and entirely between the original racers, the victory being decided in the manner indicated by Pausanias. There is more uncertainty in regard to the second kind of torch-race on foot, but still it is not so great but that we may hope to come to some definite conclusion in the matter. In the first kind of torch-race we have seen that the contestants for the victory were placed in a row (or rank), *κατὰ ζεῦγος*. But in this second race they were placed in rank and file, so to speak, that is, both *κατὰ ζεῦγος* and *κατὰ στοίχον*. Herodotos in his description of the Persian postal messengers says in effect: Relays of horses and of men, corresponding in number to the number of days required to make the journey, are stationed at the proper intervals along the road; the first courier hands over his message to the second, the second to the third, and so forth, exactly as in the torch-race of the Greeks.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle says that the bearing of the torch in the Lampas was *successive*, and not *continuous*.<sup>3</sup> Cicero, or, if you will, Cornificius, censures the frequent change of generals among the Romans

<sup>1</sup> Paus. I. 30. 2: 'Εν 'Ακαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέουσιν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λαμπάδας. τὸ δὲ ἀγώνισμα δμοῦ τῷ δρόμῳ φυλάξαι τὴν δῆδα ἔτι καιομένην ἐστίν. ἀποσβεσθείσης δὲ οὐδὲν ἔτι τῆς νίκης τῷ πρώτῳ, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ μέτεστιν. εἰ δὲ μηδὲ τούτῳ καίνοτο, δ τρίτος ἐστὶν δικράνων. εἰ δὲ καὶ πᾶσιν ἀποσβεσθείη, οὐδεὶς ἐστιν διτρικάταλείπεται ἡ νίκη.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. 8. 98: τούτων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐστὶ οὐδὲν δι τι θᾶσσον παραγίνεται θνητὸν ἐν· οὕτω τοῖσι Πέρσῃσι ἔξενρηται τοῦτο. λέγουσι γάρ ὡς δέκων ἀνήμεράν ἡ ἡ πᾶσα δόδος, τοσοῦτοι ἵπποι τε καὶ ἀνδρες διεστᾶσι, κατὰ ἡμερησίου δόδον ἔκαστην ἵππος τε καὶ ἀνὴρ τεταγμένος· τοὺς οὐτε νιφετός, οὐκ διμβρός, οὐν καῦμα, οὐν τὺξ ἔργει μηδὲ οὐν κατανύσσαι τὸν προκείμενον αὐτῷ δρόμον τὴν ταχίστην. δι μὲν δῆ πρώτος δραμῶν παραδεῖδοι τὰ ἐντεταλμένα τῷ δευτέρῳ, δ δὲ δευτέρος τῷ τρίτῳ· τὸ δὲ ἐνθεύτεν ηδὴ κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον διεξέρχεται παραδιδόμενα, κατά περ Ἐλλησι ἡ λαμπαδηφορίη τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ ἐπιτελέονται.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Phys. Auscult. 5. 4: δραμῶν γάρ ἀν τις πυρέξειν εὐθύνεις, καὶ οἷον ἡ λαμπάς ἐκ διαδοχῆς φορὰ ἔχομένη, συνεχῆς δ' οὐ.

for the reason that a wholly inexperienced general is thus made to take the place of one who has gained experience: but on the contrary in the torch-race such succession is advisable, because a fresh runner is thus enabled to continue the race with unabated energy and speed, having taken the place of one who is already tired and incompetent.<sup>1</sup> The author of the *λέξεις ρήτορικαι* says there was a race with successive delivery of the torch.<sup>2</sup> Themistius states that each racer did not pass over the whole distance between the starting-point and the goal, but only over his own individual part,<sup>3</sup> and again the same writer makes virtually the same statement elsewhere in his writings.<sup>4</sup> Lastly the Scholiast to Persius confirms in the main the authorities just cited, but it must be conceded that his meaning is by no means clear. He evidently speaks from hearsay, and really has no well-defined notion of the torch-race, and yet we can gather from him that there was a successive delivery of the torch.<sup>5</sup>

From these passages it is clear that there were relays of racers at stated intervals along the race-course between the starting-point and the goal, each relay corresponding in point of numbers to the original number of racers at the start, and accordingly the

<sup>1</sup> Cic. ad Herenn.: 4. 46: *Non enim, quemadmodum in palaestra, qui taedas candentes accipit, celerior est in cursu continuo, quam ille, qui tradit, item melior imperator novus, qui accipit exercitum, quam ille, qui decedit; propterea quod defatigatus cursor integro facem, hic peritus imperito exercitum tradit.*

<sup>2</sup> Bekk. Anec. Gr. p. 228, 11, s. v. *γυμνασιάρχοι*: *οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδηδρομῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός, ὑφ' ὧν οἱ ἑρηβοὶ ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτον τὸν βωμόν.* The Scholiast of Patmos on *γαμηλία* in Demosthenes πρὸς Εὐβοιλίδην § 43 (published in Bull. Corr. Hell. i. p. 11) gives this better: *καὶ οἵτοι ἥγοντο λαμπαδοδρομίαν τὴν ἑορτὴν τῷ τε Προμηθεῖ καὶ τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ καὶ τῷ Πανὶ τούτον τὸν τρόπον. Οἱ ἑρηβοὶ, ἀλειφάμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχου, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτον τὸν βωμόν· καὶ δι πράτος ἄφας ἐνίκα, καὶ δι τούτον φυλῆ.*

<sup>3</sup> Themistius ad Physic. V, 4 (in edition of Aristotle of the Prussian Academy IV, p. 402, 15): *οὐ γάρ γίνεται ἐν τῷ ἐσχατον τῶν δρόμων, ἀλλ' ἐκάστον τῶν τρεχόντων οἰκεῖό τι τοῦ δρόμου πέρας ἐστίν.*

<sup>4</sup> *καὶ τότε* ἐγὼ μόνον ἥσθιμην φωνῆς νικῶσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελονυμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν, καὶ διὰ πομπέμων ἐξ ἀλλων εἰς ἀλλον σταδίους τόσους καὶ τόσους ὥσπερ φρυκτωρίας διαπεμπομένην. Themistius de Theodosii humanitate.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pers. ad VI, 61: *Apud Athenas ludi celebrabantur, in quibus cursu juvenes certabant et qui victor primus erat, facem tollebat. Deinde sequenti se tradebat et secundus tertio; similiter omnes faciebant et sibi invicem tradebant donec currentium numerus completeretur.*

final victory was not personal, that is, was not won by any single individual, but by a whole file or *στοῖχος* of individuals. It is also clear that the racers, who made the start, never reached the final goal, their sole duty being to run as rapidly as possible, and, when the relay at the next station was reached, to hand over, each to his respective comrade, the torch still lighted. The duty of the comrade thus receiving the torch was to carry it to the next station, and so on, until the final goal was reached and the victory decided in favor of one or the other file (*στοῖχος*) of racers. In this way alone could any contest be possible in this second kind of torch-race on foot. Thus the words of Aischylos, where he compares the fire-signals which brought the news of the capture of Troy to Mykenai with the torch-race, are made perfectly clear. Says Aischylos:

τοιούδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,  
ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχᾶς πληρούμενοι·  
νικᾶ δ' ὁ πρώτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.

Exactly so, the first and the last carries off the victory, that is, in plainer words, the first to reach the goal with flaming torch is at the same time the last in the file or *στοῖχος* to which he belonged. So too it was with the fire-signals, for the signal-fire which flamed down the tidings to the watchman on the roof was the first to reach the palace and was at the same time the last in the file of signal-fires. The likeness does not hold good throughout, for the fire-signals differed from the torch-race in that the torch-race was a real contest for a victory and consisted of several files, while in the fire-signals there was no contest and only one file, haste in speeding on the messenger-torch being the chief point.

This successive delivery of the torch is aptly illustrated by the metaphors of the ancients. Thus Plato likens the successive generations of men to the successive delivery of the torch in the *Lampas*.<sup>1</sup> The much-quoted words of Lucretius are to the same effect, for men hand over to each other the lamp of life as the racers do the torch in the *Lampas*.<sup>2</sup> Clemens Alexandrinus

<sup>1</sup> Plato, Laws p. 776: γεννῶντάς τε καὶ ἐκτρέφοντας παῖδας, καθάπερ λαμπάδα τὸν βίον παραδιδόντας ἄλλοις ἐξ ἄλλων.

<sup>2</sup> Lucret. II, 77: Augescunt aliae gentes, aliae minuuntur,  
Inque brevi spatio mutantur saecla animantum :  
Et quasi cursores, vitai lampada tradunt.

writes in the same spirit,<sup>1</sup> and Philo speaks of virtue being handed over successively from man to man like the torch in the Lampas.<sup>2</sup> Varro has a metaphor of this kind,<sup>3</sup> as has also Statius,<sup>4</sup> and lastly an anonymous writer in the Anthology has one of the lamp of life.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Al. 503: ἐπεσκείασε τὴν ἀθανασίαν τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν, καὶ οἰονεὶ διαμονῆν τινα παισὶ παιῶν μεταλαμπαδενομένην.

<sup>2</sup> Philo 2. 175: τὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς λαμπαδενομένης ἐπαλλήλους διαδοχᾶς κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> de re rustica III: Sed Merula, Axius noster ne, dum haec audit, physicam addiscat, quod de fructu nihil dixi, cursu lampada tibi trado.

<sup>4</sup> Sylv. 4. 8. 50: Tuque, Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo  
Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

<sup>5</sup> Anthol. Pal. Appendix, No. 148:

λαμπάδα γὰρ ζωᾶς με δραμεῖν μόνον ἡθελε δαίμων,  
τὸν δὲ μακρὸν γήρως οὐκ ἐτίθει δόλλιχον.

We give the following as an example of wild exegesis—to use a mild term—on the part of scholars, whose works are generally used as handy books of reference by those who seek information in regard to such points of antiquarian research as the Lampas: Schoemann Griech. Alterthümer II, p. 467–468, 3rd edition, 1873, has this: “wozu aber später auch noch ein abendlicher Wettkauf mit Fackeln (*λαμπαδορομία*) kam, wo nach Einbruch der Dunkelheit in der mondscheinlosen Nacht,—denn das Fest war kurz vor dem Neumonde,—eine erlesene Anzahl von Epheben von dem Altare des Eros in der Akademie, von dem sie ihre Fackeln anzündeten, in verschiedenen Abtheilungen ausliefen, *Einige mit brennenden Fackeln voran, Andere ohne Fackeln in einiger Entfernung hinter ihnen. Ward ein Fackelträger von Einem der Hinterherlaufenden eingeholt, so musste er die Fackel an diesen abgeben, der dann mit ihr weiter lief.*” This is not up to the ordinary average of Gelehrsamkeit; in fact it seems that Schoemann has subjectively evolved it from the depths of his own consciousness, and it is to be all the more deplored, because, coming from an acknowledged antiquarian authority, it was calculated to lead many astray and inform none. But the whole passage of Schoemann has been changed by Lipsius in his new edition. In illustration of how blunders on the part of scholars are handed down from handbook to handbook be it allowed to give the following from Abicht’s edition of Herodotus (ad VIII, 98). Says Abicht: “Es gab verschiedene Arten dieses Wettkampfes (be it noted, however, that he contents himself with giving a description of the torch-race as Schoemann fancied it, without mentioning the other, that is, the only real kinds of torch-race): *eine* derselben bestand darin, dass die Jünglinge in verschiedenen Abtheilungen ausliefen, einige mit brennenden Fackeln voran, während andere ohne Fackeln in einer bestimmten Entfernung folgten. Ward einer (oder mehrere) der Fackelträger von einem der nachfolgenden Abtheilung überholt so musste er diesem die Fackel übergeben, der nun seinerseits mit der brennenden Fackel das Ziel zu erreichen suchte.” We might cite numerous examples of more or less grievous blunders on the part of those who have something to say about the Lampas, but we shall content ourselves with only one more. Caylus (Recueil d’Antiquités I, 17 ff.) informs us: “si le flambeau venait à s’éteindre entre les

The festival of the Lampas was celebrated on moonless nights, if possible. The racers were *ἔφηβοι*<sup>1</sup> and generally naked, although at the Apatouria, at least, they wore the richest garments.<sup>2</sup> In pictorial representations of the torch-race, we sometimes find wreaths on the heads of all the *ἔφηβοι*. It is very probable that these wreaths or crowns were symbolical of the chains which Prometheus had to endure in punishment for the theft of fire, and they were therefore worn only at the celebration of the Prometheia. They were made of the *λύγος*, a willow-like tree which was sacred to Prometheus.<sup>3</sup> From other pictorial representations we see that shields were sometimes worn on the left arm.<sup>4</sup> At the Prometheia the torch-race started from the altar of Prometheus in the Academy,<sup>5</sup> from the fire of which the

mains de celui qui s'en avait été saisi le premier, celui-ci déchu de toute espérance, donnait le flambeau à un second, qui n'ayant pas été heureux le donnait à un troisième, et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce qu'on eût épuisé le nombre de ceux qui se présentaient pour disputer le prix."<sup>6</sup> Caylus has jumped to a conclusion on insufficient data, and indeed his acquaintance with the literature of the Lampas seems to be limited to the remarks of the Scholiast to Persius.

<sup>1</sup> See Bekker, *Anec. Graeca*, p. 228. 11, and the Scholiast of Patmos BCH. i. 11; both already quoted in full.

<sup>2</sup> Harp. s. v. *λαμπάς*: εἰπὼν ὡς ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀπατονίων ἑορτῇ Ἀθηναίων οἱ καλλίστας στολὰς ἐνδεδυότες, λαβόντες ἡμένας λαμπάδας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστίας, ὑμνοῦσι τὸν "Ηφαιστον θέοντες κ. τ. λ.

<sup>3</sup> In support of these statements we may cite the authority of Athenaios 15. 13; p. 672, f: διθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου τὸν δεδηλωμένον στέφανον τῷ Προμηθεῖ περιγενέσθαι, καὶ μετ' οὐ πολὺ τοῖς εὐεργετηθεῖσιν ἀνθρώποις ἵπ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς δωρεάν. διόπερ καὶ τοῖς Καροὶ κατὰ τὸ παραπλήσιον ἔνθος παρεκελεύσατο, στέφανόματι χρωμένοις τῇ λιγῷ καταδεῖν τὴν ἑαυτῶν κεφαλὴν τοῖς κλάδοις, οἷς αὐτοὶ κατέλαβον τὴν θεόν. And Athen. 15. 16; p. 674, d: Αἰσχύλος δ' ἐν τῷ λινομένῳ Προμηθεῖ σαφῶς φησιν, διτὶ ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ Προμηθέως τὸν στέφανον περιτίθεμεν τῇ κεφαλῇ, ἀντίποινα τοῦ ἐκείνου δεσμοῦ, καίτοι ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Σφιγγὶ εἰπὼν. τῷ δὲ ἔξιντα γε στέφανον, ἀρχαῖον στέφος, δεσμῶν ἀριστος ἐκ Προμηθέως λόγον.

Compare also Eustathios (ed. Tafel, Frankfurt a/M. 1832), p. 319, line 66 sq.: ὅσοις μὲν οὖν ἐπιστεφῆς φρονήσεως ἡ κεφαλὴ, κατέκυπτον ἐπιδεικνύντες ἑαυτοὺς ἀνενδέως ἔχοντας· καὶ ἡν τοῦτο προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τὸν εὐεργέτην Προμηθέα φιλεῖν.

<sup>4</sup> For the pictorial representations of the torch-race cf. Tischbein II, 25; III, 48; Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* I, 4; Krause *Hellenika* II,<sup>2</sup> fig. 16 and fig. 25 1; Brönsted *Reise und Untersuchungen* II, 289 ff.; Mionnet pl. 49, 6; Head *Coin of the Ancients* plate 21, nos. 7-8. Körte, *Vase mit Fackellaufdarstellung* in *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1892, p. 149-152.

<sup>5</sup> Paus. 1. 30. 2: Ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ δέ ἐστι Προμηθέως βωμός, καὶ θέονταν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες καιομένας λυμπάδας.

torches were lighted. The race-course lay through the outer Kerameikos to the Dipylon, or as Pausanias says *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν*. Suidas, Hesychios, the Scholiast to Aristophanes, and the Etymologicum Magnum only make the general remark that the torch-race took place in the Kerameikos.<sup>1</sup> Indeed it would seem from the words of these men that they knew of the Kerameikos solely as the place where the torch-race was held, and Suidas takes especial pains to show his ignorance by stating that the Kerameikos is a high place in Attica: *τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑψηλός* (*χαμηλὸς* would suit the facts better). At the other torch-races the start was made, not from the altar of Prometheus, but from that of Eros in the Academy, where the torches were lighted. The race-course extended in some to the altar of Anteros inside the city, in others probably to the altar of Athene, for the flame of the victorious torch was sacred, and was used to set on fire the great sacrifice which was the closing act of the Panathenaic festival.<sup>2</sup> It is significant that at the Prometheia the race extended only to the city, that is, the fact that the work of the runners was done as soon as the threshold of the city was reached was doubtless intended as a symbol of the arrival of Prometheus at fireless human dwellings with the heavenly flame, the civilizing element. The renewal of fire became necessary because it had been polluted by the uses to which it was put by man. All fires in the city

<sup>1</sup> Suidas s. v. *Κεραμεικός*: *τόπος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὑψηλός*, διπον ἐπετέλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ' ἔτος λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγῶνα. Hesychios s. v. *κεραμ.*: ἀγῶν γάρ Ἀθήνησιν εὐτελῆς ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. Schol. Ar. Ran. 131: *Κεραμεικὸς τόπος Ἀθήνησιν διπον συνετέλουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι κατ'* εὐαντὸν λαμπαδοῦχον ἀγῶνα, and Ran. 1093: *τοῦτο δέ φοσιν Εὐφρόνιος*, διτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀγῶνος τῆς λαμπάδος. Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1203: διτι γάρ καὶ ἡγωνίζοντο δρόμῳ λαμπάδας ἔχοντες ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ φανερὸν ἐκ τῶν εἰς Βατράχον. Etym. Mag. s. v. *κεραμ.*: γίνονται δὲ τρεῖς λαμπαδηροίαι ἐν Κεραμεικῷ.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Solon. 1, 79: λέγεται δὲ καὶ Πεισίστρατος ἐραστῆς Χάρμον γενέσθαι, καὶ τὸ ἀγαλμα τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ καθιερῶσαι, διπον τὸ πῦρ ἀνάπτουσαν οἱ τὴν ιερᾶν λαμπάδα διαθένοντες. Hermias Commentar. in Plat. Phaedr. p. 78: καὶ γάρ παρ' Ἀθηναῖος ἐφείτο τὸ ἔραν, καὶ τοῦ Ἐρωτος βωμοὶ καὶ ἀγάλματα ἡσαν, καὶ Ἀντέρωτος ... καὶ δρόμος διακρίτης τοῖς Παναθηναιοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἐγίνετο. ἐντεῖνθεν γάρ ἀφάμενοι οἱ ἐφῆβοι τὰς λαμπάδας ἔθεον καὶ τοῦ νικήσαντος τῇ λαμπάδι ἡ πυρὰ τῶν τῆς θεοῦ ιερῶν ἐφήπτετο. Bekker, Anec. Graec. p. 228, s. v. *γυμνασιάρχοι*: ὑφ' ὄν (γυμνασιάρχων) οἱ ἐφῆβοι ἀλειφόμενοι κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτον τὸν βωμόν. Scholiast of Patmos, Bull. Corr. Hell. i. 11: οἱ ἐφῆβοι, ἀλειφόμενοι παρὰ τοῦ γυμνασιάρχον, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτοντο τὸν βωμόν. The reason for the erection of the altars of Eros and Anteros is given by Pausanias 1. 30. 1; compare also Suidas s. v. *Μέλητος*.

were extinguished before the race began and were rekindled from the renewed and pure fire which had been lighted on the altar by the torch of the victorious runner. For the importance of the renewal of fire see Plutarch, *Aristides* 20. Similarly the fact that the goal at the torch-races held in honor of the other fire-gods was *inside* the city walls may be taken as a symbolical intimation that men were now in possession of fire; that credit was due to these gods, not for having introduced fire, but for having applied it to the uses of men after Prometheus had brought it down to human abodes.

The length of the race-course can only be ascertained approximately, as our authorities do not agree exactly. We know, for instance, that in the Prometheia the course extended from the altar in the Academy to the Dipylon, but while the site of the Dipylon is now known accurately, that of the altar in the Academy can never be established with absolute certainty. Cicero, in speaking of an afternoon promenade which he made with some friends to the Academy, mentions that it was six stadia distant from the Dipylon.<sup>1</sup> Livy reckons the distance from the Dipylon to the Academy as about a Roman mile.<sup>2</sup> It must be noted that neither Cicero nor Livy intended to be accurate, but only to give an approximate idea of the distance between the two places. The Roman mile of Livy is about 4824 feet, and the six stadia of Cicero about 3636 feet, making a difference of 1189 feet, or nearly one quarter of a mile, in the two statements. But at least we shall not go far wrong if we conclude that the length of the race-course at the Prometheia was about three quarters of a mile long, and at the other festivals—at which the race extended *into* the city—probably about one mile long, or even more, as we have no means of locating either the altar and statue of Anteros or the altar of Athene.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cic. *de fin.* 5, 1, 1: *Constituimus inter nos ut ambulationem postmeridianam conficeremus in Academia, maxime quod is locus ab omni turba id temporis vacuus esset. Itaque ad tempus ad Pisonem. Inde vario sermone sex illa a Dipyllo stadia confecimus.*

<sup>2</sup> Liv. 31, 24: *Ab Dipyllo accessit. Porta ea, velut in ore urbis posita, maior aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae est, et intra eam extraque latae viæ sunt, ut et oppidani derigere aciem a foro ad portam possent, et extra limes mille ferme passus longus, in Academiae gymnasium ferens, . . . liberum spatium praeberet.*

<sup>3</sup> Hermias speaks of the *long race-course*; Comment. in Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 78: *καὶ ὁ δρόμος ὁ μακρὸς τοῖς Παναθηναῖος ἀπὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Ἐρωτος ἔγινε.* Certainly it is a long mile from the Dipylon to what is nowadays held to be the site of the Academy.

The torches used in the race were probably—but not certainly—of two kinds. From a verse of the *Προμηθεὺς Πυρκαῖος* of Aischylos, which has been preserved by Pollux (10.64), it may be argued that pitch-torches were sometimes used. For what other explanation can be given to *πίσσα κώμοδίνου μακρὸς τόνοι*, with which may be compared the *lucida funalia* of Horace (Carm. III, 26, 6)? The only answer that can be given to this question is that Aischylos has made use of the license usually accorded to poets, for if the substance used were *pitch*, there would be no need of *long cords*, as pitch requires no wick. It is then a question whether pitch-torches were used or not! But from vase-paintings and coins it is certain that taper-like torches of *wax*<sup>1</sup> were far more common, as indeed they were far better suited to the requirements of the race. No skill would be necessary in the case of pitch-torches, for there would be no difficulty in keeping them lighted; on the contrary rapid motion would be calculated to make them burn more readily than ever. Now it was difficult and it *did* require skill to keep the torches lighted, and hence we are inclined to think that the material used could never have been pitch.<sup>2</sup> These wax tapers were placed in a candlestick, whose handle was like that of a dirk or short sword; the candlestick was in most cases provided with a shield just below the socket, in order to prevent the hand from being burned by the hot drippings from the wax-torch.<sup>3</sup>

The signal for the start was given from the top of a tower in the neighborhood of the Academy and before the invention of the *σάλπιγξ* by the Etruscans, it consisted in dropping a lighted torch from the tower.<sup>4</sup> By inference we conclude that the signal was given by the salpinx after its invention.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Boeckh, *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I, p. 496 ff.

<sup>2</sup> We note, for what it is worth, that Weiske, *Prometheus und sein Mythenkreis* p. 537 ff., thinks the material used was liquid and that there was danger of its burning up too soon.

<sup>3</sup> This dripping-pan was the shield used by the frogs in the *Batrachomyomachia* 129: *ἀσπὶς δ' ἦν λέχον τὸ μεσόμφαλον*. For the pictorial representations of the torch-race and the torches see the references in a previous note.

<sup>4</sup> Aristoph. *Ran.* 129, sqq.: *κανθέρπυσθν ννν ἐς Κεραμεικόν*. *Εἴτα τι;* 'Αναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸν πίργον τὸν ἴψηλόν.—*τί δρῶ;* *ἀφιεμένην τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐντεῦθεν θεῶ.* *κάπειτ'* ἐπειδὴν φῶσιν οἱ θεῶμενοι εἶναι, *τέθ'* εἶναι καὶ σὺ σαντὸν. *Ποι;* Κάτω. The Scholiast to this passage says: *δτι ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῆς λαμπάδος σημεῖον ἦν τοῖς μέλλοντι δραμεῖν, ὡς δεῖ τοῦ δρόμου κατάρχασθαι.* *ἡν δὲ τούτο πρὸ τοῦ εἰρεθῆναι παρὰ Τυρσηνοῖς τὴν σάλπιγγα.*

Speed was an essential feature of the race. This may be gathered by inference from Themistios, who speaks of the sound of the voice, which was to travel faster than the racers in the Lampas,<sup>1</sup> and Aristophanes also gives us to understand that speed was essential, for he calls the race *νεανικώτατον* and treats us to a lively scene in which the racer who runs too slowly is beaten most unmercifully by the inhabitants of the Kerameikos.<sup>2</sup> From the words of Aristophanes we may infer that the disgrace of defeat and the honor of victory were great.

The victorious Gymnasiarch made a dedication of some sort in honor of the victory. The prize was of small money-value; sometimes it was a shield,<sup>3</sup> sometimes a vase (hydria), as was usual in the Panathenaia.<sup>4</sup>

The number of racers can not be determined. Boeckh<sup>5</sup> thinks that a racer or a line of racers, according to the kind of race to be held, was appointed from each Phyle. It is true that in Athens the Phylae were always rivals for agonistic and choregic honors but Boeckh does not prove his contention. It can not be denied, however, that the words of the speaker in Isaios do certainly tend to support the theory of Boeckh, a fact which

<sup>1</sup> Themist. de Theod. human.: φωνῆς νικώσης τῷ τάχει τὴν τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ τελονυμένην λαμπαδηφορίαν.

<sup>2</sup> Aristoph. Vesp. 1203: ἡ λαμπάδα | ἔδραμες, ἀνευρὼν δὲ τι νεανικώτατον. And Aristoph. Ran. 1097 sqq.: λαμπάδα δ' οὐδεὶς οὐτε τέ φέρειν ὑπ' ἀγυμνασίας ἔτι νυνί. Μὰ Δῆ! οὐ δῆθ', δωτ' ἐπαφανάνθητο Παναθηναίους γελῶν, ὅτε δὴ βραδὺς ἀνθρωπὸς τις ἔθει κύνφας λευκός, πίων, ἵπολειπόμενος, καὶ δεινὰ ποιῶν· καθ' οἱ Κεραμῆς ἐν ταῖσι πύλαις πάιοντ' αὐτοῦ γαστέρα, πλευράς, λαγόνας, πυγήν· δὲ τυπτόμενος ταῖσι πλατείαις ἵποπερδόμενος φυσῶν τὴν λαμπάδ' ἐφενε. And the Scholiast to this last passage says: τοῦτο δέ φησιν Εἰνφρόνιος, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ ἀγῶνος τῆς λαμπάδος, καὶ τοὺς ὑστάτους τρέχοντας ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγοραίων τύπτεονται πλατείαις ὑπὸ τῶν νεανίσκων χεροῖ· καὶ λέγονται αἱ τοιαῦται Κεραμεικαὶ πληγαί. ἐμφαινεται δὲ ἀπὸ τούτων ὅτι παρὰ τοῖς Κεραμεικοῖς τοῦτο μάλιστα γίνεται. And Hesychios s. v. κεραμεικαὶ: πλατείαι πληγαί. ἀγῶν . . . ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ, ἐν τῷ τύπτονται πλατείαις χεροῖ τοὺς μὴ τρέχοντας κ. τ. λ. Aristophanes mentions that these blows were administered *at the gates*, by which must be understood, we think, the Dipylon. The Scholiast does not seem to be clear in his own mind on this subject, as he observes: πύλαις δὲ ταῖς εἰσόδοις τοῦ ἀγῶνος and ταῖς εἰσόδοις τοῦ δρόμου. But from our discussion above there can be little doubt that the Dipylon is meant.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. G. 2360 line 31: λαμπαδάρχῳ τῷ νικῶντι ἀσπίδα.

<sup>4</sup> Rangabé, Ant. Hell. 960, B, line 27: λαμπαδηφόρῳ νικῶντι ὑδρία. Here the victory was individual or personal, and hence this Hydria was given to a victor in the first kind of Lampas on foot.

<sup>5</sup> *Staatshaushaltung der Athener* I, p. 496 sq., first edition.

Boeckh himself has overlooked.<sup>1</sup> But the strongest proof is contained in the words of the Scholiast of Patmos *ad Demos. πρὸς Εὐθονίδην* § 43 *B. C. H. i. 11*,<sup>2</sup> also unknown to Boeckh. But we have no proof that there were ten lines of runners. We have proof, however, that at least on one occasion there were as many as fourteen relays of runners in one line, all of whom belonged to the tribe Attalis, which through them gained the victory.<sup>3</sup> The fact that Pausanias says that if the torch of the first runner go out, the second may be the victor, and if the second fail the third can be the victor, can not be taken as an indication of the number of runners; in fact the words of Pausanias can be allowed no weight whatever in deciding the question, as they were evidently intended as a mere illustration of the rules of the game.

The Gymnasiarch was the superintendent of the Lampas. The racers had to be fed, paid, and trained at his expense. We can not enter upon a discussion of the duties of the Gymnasiarch versus Lampadarch,<sup>4</sup> but we may say that it is certain that the Lampadarchy was the principal duty of the Gymnasiarch. The author of the *λέξεις ῥητορικαὶ* knows of no other duty for the Gymnasiarch,<sup>5</sup> and the words of Xenophon certainly strengthen this theory;<sup>6</sup> again the words of the Scholiast of Patmos, Bull. Corr. Hell. i, p. 11, bear upon this point.<sup>7</sup>

Isaios (de Philoct. haered. 60) has γεγυμνασιάρχηκε δὲ λαμπάδι and

<sup>1</sup> Isaios de Apollodori haereditate 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γὰρ εἰς Προμήθεα τοῦδε τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ φιλοτίμως, ὡς οἱ φυλέται πάντες ισασιν.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ δὲ πρῶτος ἄνθας ἐνίκα, καὶ η τότου φυλῆ.

<sup>3</sup> C. I. A. iii, 122: οἱ νευκόσαντες τὴν λαμπάδης Ἀσκληπιάδης Εύκάρπου Ἀθμονείς, Δάδικος Σώζοντος Σοννιεύς, Καλλίμαχος Διονυσίον, Ῥοῦφος, Ἀγάθων, Σωτῆς, Διονύσιος, Ζώσιμος, Συνφᾶς, Φοῖβος, Ἀττικός, Ζωσιμᾶς, Σώτης.

<sup>4</sup> Discussions of this question will be found: by Haase, in Allgem. Encykl. III, 9, p. 388; by Krause, Hellenika, I, p. 187 ff.; and in the Wiener Jahrbücher XCV p. 161. Haase tries to prove that Gymnasiarch and Lampadarch are two terms for one and the same person, Krause combats Haase's theory, and the writer in the Wiener Jahrbücher defends Haase's theory, and, as we think, proves the point.

<sup>5</sup> Bekker Anec. Graec. p. 228 s. v. γυμνασιάρχοι: οἱ ἀρχοντες τῶν λαμπαδοδρομῶν εἰς τὴν ἑορτὴν τοῦ Προμηθέως καὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου καὶ τοῦ Πανός.

<sup>6</sup> Xen. de Vect. 4, 52: οἱ τε γὰρ ταχθέντες γυμνάζεσθαι πολὺ ἀν ἐπιμελέστερον πράττουσιν τὰ ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, τὴν τροφὴν ἀπολαμβάνοντες πλειω ἡ ἐν ταῖς λαμπάσι γυμνασιάρχοιμενοι.

<sup>7</sup> οἱ ἐφῆβοι, ἀλειφάμενοι παρὰ τοὺς γυμνασιάρχον, κατὰ διαδοχὴν τρέχοντες ἥπτοντο τὸν βωμόν.

de Apoll. haered. 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γάρ εἰς Προμήθεια, Andokides de Mysteriis 132 has γυμνασίαρχον Ἡφαιστείοις, Lysias ἀπολ. δωροδοκ. 3 has ἐγγυμνασιάρχουν εἰς Προμήθεια, Ross' inscription (Demen, p. 55) has γυμνασιάρχησας τῶν Ἀνθεστηρίων τὴν λαμπάδα. Now the Prometheia and Hephaisteia consisted simply and solely of the torch-race, and when we read that such an one was Gymnasiarch at one of these festivals we must conclude that the Gymnasiarchy is simply another name for the Lampadarchy. It is necessary to add that Pollux gives the superintendence of the Lampas to the Archon Basileus and the Epimeletai, but most probably wrongly.<sup>1</sup> Boeckh thinks that the race-course was lighted up at the expense of the Gymnasiarch, but this is mere hypothesis, and can not be proved from ancient writers.

The cost of the Torch-race was very considerable.<sup>2</sup> Aristotle recommends the abolition of the choregy and the lampadarchy, on the ground that they are both costly and useless.<sup>3</sup> The Cyclic chorus and the Pyrrhic dance were cheaper than the Lampas. An inscription mentions the victorious Gymnasiarchs in the Prometheia and Hephaisteia along with those who gain the victory with a chorus of men in the Thargelia and Dionysia.<sup>4</sup> Xenophon mentions the Dionysia, Thargelia, Panathenaia, Prometheia, and Hephaisteia in the same breath.<sup>5</sup> Isaios classes the gymnasiarchy for the torch-race in the same category with the trierarchy and the choregy for tragedy,<sup>6</sup> and the speaker in Isaios de Apollodori haereditate boasts of his gymnasiarchy at the Prometheia.<sup>7</sup> Andokides mentions the Gymnasiarchy at the Hephaisteia in the

<sup>1</sup> Pollux 8. 90: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς μυστηρίων προέστηκε μετὰ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν καὶ Δημάριν καὶ ἀγώνων τῶν ἐπὶ λαμπάδι, καὶ τὰ περὶ τὰς πατρίους θυσίας διοικεῖ.

<sup>2</sup> To the data, which have in the main been collected by Boeckh (Staats-haushaltung etc., loc. cit.) I can make but unimportant additions.

<sup>3</sup> Aristot. Polit. V, 8, fin: βέλτιον δὲ καὶ βούλομένος κωλεῖν λειτουργεῖν τὰς δαπανηρὰς μὲν μὴ χρησίμους δὲ λειτουργίας, οἷον χορηγίας καὶ λαμπαδαρχίας καὶ ὅσαι ἄλλαι τοιαῦται.

<sup>4</sup> Xen. de Rep. Athen. III, 4: πρὸς δὲ τούτοις χορηγοῖς διαδικάσαι εἰς Διονύσια καὶ Θαργήλια καὶ Παναθήναια καὶ Προμήθεια καὶ Ἡφαιστεία δσα ἔτη.

<sup>5</sup> Chandler II, 6, 125.

<sup>6</sup> Isaios de Philoct. haeredit. 60: οὗτοὶ δὲ Χαιρέστρατος τηλικοῦτος ὁν τετριηράρχηκε, κεχορήγηκε δὲ τραγῳδοῖς, γεγυμνασιάρχηκε δὲ λαμπάδι.

<sup>7</sup> Is. de Apol. haer. 36: γεγυμνασιάρχηκα γάρ εἰς Προμήθεια τοῦδε τοῦ ἐνιαντοῦ φιλοτίμως, ὡς οἱ φιλέται πάντες ἴσασιν.

same breath with the Architeology to the Isthmos and to Olympia.<sup>1</sup> Nikias and Alkibiades, who were notorious for the lavish manner in which they expended money on their liturgies, were both gymnasiarchs.<sup>2</sup> Aeneas says that the Lampas was costly,<sup>3</sup> and finally Lysias informs us that a victorious Gymnasiarchy in the Prometheia cost twelve hundred Drachmae, which, if the relative buying quality be taken into consideration, stands for at least one thousand dollars.<sup>4</sup>

The Lampas was popular not only in Athens, but in many other Greek cities and colonies. At Corinth a torch-race was held in honor of Athene-Hellotis, in remembrance of the taming of Pegasos.<sup>5</sup> Further at Byzantion in honor of Artemis-Bendis;<sup>6</sup> at Koressia on the island of Keos, in honor probably of Athene;<sup>7</sup> at Paros in honor of a deity not mentioned;<sup>8</sup> at Ephesos;<sup>9</sup> at Teos;<sup>10</sup> at Naples, in honor of Parthenope, one of the Seirens;<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Andoc. de mysteriis 132: ἀλλὰ τοιναντίον λητουργεῖν οὐτοι προύβάλλοντο, πρῶτον μὲν γυμνασιάρχον Ἡφαιστείου, ἐπειτα ἀρχιθεωρὸν εἰς Ἰσθμὸν καὶ Ὀλυμπίαζε. Andokides was himself a victorious gymnasiarch, cf. de Alcibiade 42: καίτοι τυγχάνων νευκηκῶς εἰνανδρίᾳ καὶ λαμπάδι καὶ τραγῳδίᾳ κ. τ. λ.

<sup>2</sup> Plut. Nic. et Crass. 1, 4: ἦν δὲ ταῖς δαπάναις πολιτικώτερος μὲν ὁ Νικίας ἀναθῆμασι καὶ γυμνασιάρχαις καὶ διδασκαλίαις χορῶν φιλοτιμούμενος κ. τ. λ., and Isokrates περὶ τοῦ ζενγονος 14, ε: περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐνθάδε χορηγιῶν καὶ γυμνασιαρχῶν καὶ τριηραρχῶν αἰσχίνομαι λέγειν; spoken by Alkibiades.

<sup>3</sup> Aeneas commentarius poliorceticus XVII, 1: ἐν δὲ μηδ ὁμονούσῃ πόλει καὶ ὑπόπτως πρὸς ἄλληλονς ἔχοντων χρῆ προνοοῦντα εὐλαβεῖσθαι τὰς μετ' ὅχλον ἐξόδους ἐπὶ θεωρίαν λαμπάδος καὶ ἵπποδρομίας καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγάνων κ. τ. λ.

<sup>4</sup> Lysias ἀπολ. δωροδοκ. 3: ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατέπλευσα ἐπὶ Ἀλεξίου ἀρχοντος, εὐθὺς ἐγυμνασιάρχον εἰς Προμήθεα, καὶ ἐνίκων ἀνάλωσας δώδεκα μνᾶς.

<sup>5</sup> Schol. Pind. O. 13, 56: Ἐλλάτια δ' ἐπτάκις] ἐορτὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ, ἐν ἣ καὶ ὁ ἄγων τελείται ὁ καλούμενος λαμπαδόδρομος, ἐν φέτρεχον νεανία.

<sup>6</sup> C. I. G. 2034: Ὁλυμπιόδωρος Βενδίδωρον στεφανωθεὶς τῷ λαμπάδι τῶν ἀνήβων τὰ Βοσπόρια, τὸ ἀθλὸν Ἐρμα καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ.

<sup>7</sup> C. I. G. 2360: αἰρεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ γυμνασιάρχον ἀμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀρχαῖς, μὴ νεώτερον τριάκοντα ἑτῶν· τοῦτον δὲ ποιεῖν λαμπάδα τῶν νεωτέρων τῇ ἐορτῇ καὶ τάλλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τὰ κατὰ τὸ γυμνάσιον.

<sup>8</sup> C. I. G. 2396: ἐπὶ ναυποῦ Αύρ. Χρησίμον τοῦ Μάρκου, λανπαδαρχήσαντος Δωροθέου τοῦ Θεοτεμήτου, Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Τυγείς.

<sup>9</sup> The inscription on which this statement is based is very badly mutilated, but the word λαμπαδάρχον is certain, C. I. G. 3018.

<sup>10</sup> Here too the inscription is mutilated, λαμπάδος, however, being certain, C. I. G. 3088.

<sup>11</sup> C. I. G. 287: νευκήσας τὴν λανπάδα (bis), and especially Lykophron. Alex. 732 sqq.: πρώτη δὲ καὶ ποτ' αὐνθὶ συγγόνων θεῷ κραίνων ἀπάσης Μόφοπος ναναρχίας πλωτῆροι λαμπαδοῦχον ἐντυνεὶ δρόμοι, χρησμοῖς πιθήσας, and Tzetzes ad Lycophr.

at Syros, in honor of Demeter;<sup>1</sup> in Kerkyra;<sup>2</sup> the magnificent coins of Amphipolis, which bear a flaming torch of the kind already described, tell us distinctly of torch-races once held there.<sup>3</sup> It will be noted that a Lampas is only claimed positively for places from which our information is direct and incontrovertible. But if Haase's limitation of the Gymnasiarchy be accepted, the list of places at which a torch-race was held may be increased almost *ad infinitum*. Lastly as an illustration of the immense popularity of the Lampas, it may be noted that Alexander the Great instituted torch-races at almost all of his festivals.<sup>4</sup> From all this we may gather that the torch-race was extremely popular among the Greeks, wherever they lived, and that no other festival of the Athenians was celebrated so often. This frequency of its celebration is without doubt the reason why such an abundance of names for the festival have come down to us. The most usual name was simply *Λαμπάς* (e. g. Plat. Rep. 328, A and often elsewhere). The other names are:

*Ιερὰ λαμπάς* Plut. Solon, I. 4.  
*λαμπαδηδρομία* Hdt. 6. 105; Plat. Rep. 328. A.  
*λαμπαδοδρομία* Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 228. II.  
*λαμπαδηφορία* Hdt. 8. 98.  
*λαμπάδος ἄγών* Hesych. s. v. *λαμπάς*; Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.  
*λαμπάδων ἄγών* Eustath. Opusc. ed. Tafel, p. 237. 70.  
*ἄγων ἐπὶ λαμπάδι* Pollux 8. 90.  
*Θεωρία λαμπάδος* Aeneae Comm. Poliorc. 17. I.  
*έορτὴ λαμπάδος* Harp. s. v. *λαμπάς*.  
*λαμπαδιστῆς ἄγών* Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.

Alex. 732, sqq.: Τίμαιος δὲ Σικελικός φησι Διότιμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων ναναρχον θύσαι τῇ Παρθενόπῃ καὶ δρόμον ποιῆσαι λαμπαδικὸν, δυπερ λαμπαδικὸν ἄγονα καὶ δρόμον οἱ Νεαπολίται ἐτησίως ἐτέλοντ. Compare also Statius Silv. IV, 8, 50:

Tuque, Actaea Ceres, cursu cui semper anhelo  
 Votivam taciti quassamus lampada mystae.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. G. 2347: Διονυσίων τε τῷ ἄγαντι τῶν τραγῳδῶν, καὶ Ἡρακλείων τῇ πομπῇ, καὶ Δημητριεών τῇ λανπάδι κ. τ. λ.

<sup>2</sup> Brönsted, Reise und Untersuchungen II, 289 ff. Here they wore a shield on the left arm.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Head, Coins of the Ancients, plate 21, nos. 7 and 8.

<sup>4</sup> For instance at Soloi, Arriani An. 2. 5. 8: Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν Σόλοις θύσας τε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ καὶ πομπένσας αὐτός τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὰ πᾶσα καὶ λαμπάδα ἐπιτελέσας κ. τ. λ.; at Tyre, Arr. An. 2. 24. 6: καὶ αἱ νῆες ἔννεπόμπενσαν τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, καὶ ἄγονα γυμνικὸν ἐν τῷ ιερῷ καὶ λαμπάδα ἐποίησε; at Susa, Arr. An. 3. 16. 9; at Taxila, Arr. 5. 3. 6; at Nikaia, Arr. 5. 29. 2; at Karmania, Arr. 6. 28. 3; at Ecbatana, Arr. 7. 14. 1, and elsewhere.

τὰ λαμπαδοδρόμια Bekk. Anec. Graec. p. 228 (v. l.).  
 λαμπαδοῦχος ἀγών Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.  
 λαμπαδοῦχος δρόμος Lycophr. Alex. 734.  
 λαμπαδοδρομικὸς ἀγών Schol. Pind. Ol. 13. 56.  
 λαμπαδικὸς ἀγών Timaios ap. Tzetz. ad Lyc. Alex. 734.  
 λαμπαδικὸς δρόμος " " " " " "  
 λαμπαδονυχία Lycophr. Alex. 1197.  
 λαμπάδιον Dinarch. and Plat. ap. Suid. et Phot. s. v. λαμπάδιον.

The act of running was called:

λαμπάδα δραμεῖν Ar. Vesp. 1203.  
 λαμπάδα τρέχειν Theophr. Charac. 27.  
 λαμπάδα φέρειν Ar. Ran. 1087.  
 λαμπάδα διαθέειν Plut. Solon, 1. 4.  
 λαμπαδοδρομεῖν Schol. Ar. Vesp. 1203.  
 λαμπαδίζειν Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.  
 λαμπαδονυχεῖν Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.  
 λαμπαδηφορεῖν Schol. Ar. Ran. 1087.

The runners themselves were called:

λαμπαδισταί C. I. G. 242.  
 λαμπαδηφόροι Aesch. Ag. 304.  
 πυρσοφόροι Hesych. s. v. πυρσοφ.  
 δρομεῖς Ar. Vesp. 1206.  
 οἱ λαμπαδίζοντες Schol. Ar. Ran. 131.

To gain the victory was called:

λαμπάδα νικᾶν C. I. G. 287.  
 λαμπάδι νικᾶν Andoc. Alcib. 133.  
 λαμπαδηφορίαν νικᾶν Themist. de Theod. human.

The victor was called:

λαμπαδηφόρος Hesych. s. v. λαμπάς.

The superintendents of the festival being the gymnasiarchs the discharge of their duty was called:

γυμνασιάρχειν λαμπάδι Isaios de Phil. haered. 60.  
 γυμνασιάρχειν λαμπάδα Ross, Demen, p. 55.

J. R. SITLINGTON STERRETT.

### III.—THE POMERIUM AND ROMA QUADRATA.

Nothing in connection with the topography of Rome has been discussed more frequently or at greater length, than the pomerium. The problem is complicated by the fact that not only the line of the pomerium is in question, but also the meaning and use of the word. As the pomerium was extended at various times during the history of the city, so the term itself underwent certain changes in meaning.

This whole subject has been treated with great fullness in the works referred to below,<sup>1</sup> but contradictory results have been reached. The only excuse for the present paper is to draw attention more closely to the relation between the pomerium<sup>2</sup> of the Palatine city and *Roma quadrata*.

So far as I know, the only definite allusion to this relation is made by Jordan (*Topographie*, I, 1, 168 note) who remarks:—“Um dies (i. e. Varro’s description of the extent of *Roma quadrata*) mit dem unten erörterten Pomerium und der Auffassung des Dionys. I 88: *περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα τῷ λόφῳ* in Einklang zu bringen, ist es unumgänglich nothwendig dass der Ausdruck *Roma quadrata* technisch in doppeltem Sinne gebraucht wurde; einmal zur Bezeichnung der Linie des Pomeriums, zweitens der parallelen Linie der Befestigung der Arx.”

But it is reasonably certain that *Roma quadrata* is also used in the sense of *mundus* or augural centre of the city-templum, and

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Das Begriff des Pomeriums*. *Hermes* X 24-50, and *Röm. Forschungen* II 23-41; F. Wehr, *Das Palatinische Pomerium*. Brüx, 1895; O. Richter, *Die älteste Wohnstätte des Röm. Volkes*. Prog., Berlin, 1891; *Topographie der Stadt Rom*, 2nd ed. 32-34; Becker, *Topographie*, 92-108; Jordan, *Topographie*, I, 1, 163-175; Gilbert, *Topographie*, I, 114-134; Hülser, *Mitth.* 1892, 293.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus, *Ann. XII 24*, describes the line of the Palatine pomerium thus:—*sed . . . quod pomerium Romulus posuerit, noscere haud absurdum reor. igitur a foro boario, ubi aereum tauri simulacrum aspicimus quia id genus animalium aratro subditur, sulcus designandi oppidi coepitus, ut magnam Herculis aram amplecteretur. inde certis spatiis interiecti lapides per ima montis Palatini ad aram Consi, mox curias veteres, tum ad sacellum Larum, etc.*

therefore we should be obliged to assume three different meanings of the word! This would require very strong evidence for its support.

Let us first consider the extant evidence with regard to the use of Roma quadrata. There is of course no doubt of the literal meaning of the term. It refers to a city laid out in square or rectangular form, for quadrata does not necessarily imply perfect squareness.

The passages in classical literature which are to be considered, are the following:—

(1) Dionysius II 65: οὕτε γάρ τὸ χωρίον τοῦτο, ἐν φ τὸ ιερὸν φυλάττεται πῦρ, Ῥωμύλος ἦν ὁ καθιερώσας τὴν θεῷ. μέγα δὲ τούτου τεκμήριον, ὅτι τῆς τετραγώνου καλουμένης Ῥώμης, ἦν ἐκεῖνος ἐτείχισεν, ἐκτός ἐστιν.

(2) Ibid. I 88: περιγράφει τετράγωνον σχῆμα τῷ λόφῳ, θοὸς ἄρρενος ἀμαθηλείᾳ ζευχθέντος ὑπ' ἄροτρον ἐλκύσας αὐλακα διηνεκῆ τὴν μέλλουσαν ὑπόδεξεσθαι τὸ τεῖχος.

(3) Plutarch, Romulus 9: Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἐκτισε καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐθούλετο πολίζειν τὸν τόπον.

(4) Tzetzes in Lykophron. 1235: πρὸ δὲ τῆς μεγάλης ταύτης Ῥώμης ἦν ἐκτισε Ῥωμύλος περὶ τὴν Φαιστύλον οἰκίαν ἐν δρει Παλατίῳ, ἐτέρα τετράγωνος ἐκτίσθη Ῥώμη παρὰ Ῥώμου καὶ Ῥωμύλου παλαιοτέρων τούτων.

This last citation, which is sometimes supposed to be a fragment of Dio Cassius (IV 15), is due probably only to the Scholiast, and has no value whatever (cf. Hülsen, *Mith.* 1896, 211 note.)

All that can be learned from the Dionysius and Plutarch passages is,—(1) the city which Romulus founded was called Roma quadrata; (2) the temple of Vesta was outside Roma quadrata; (3) a strict interpretation of No. 2 would seem to imply that the τετράγωνον σχῆμα around the hill was the αὐλαξ διηνεκής, which was to be the line of the wall itself.

(5) Varro ap. Solin. I 17; nam ut adfirmat Varro auctor diligenter Romam condidit Romulus, Marte genitus et Rea Silvia, vel ut nonnulli Marte et Ilia; dictaque primum est Roma quadrata, quod ad aequilibrium foret posita. ea incipit a silva quae est in area Apollinis et ad supercilium scalarum Caci habet terminum, ubi tugurium fuit Faustuli.

This passage corroborates inference No. 1, drawn from the previous passages, and then states two limiting points on the boundary of Roma quadrata.

*Supercilium scalarum Caci* naturally refers to the top of the steps, the remains of which are still plainly to be seen, and begin at some little distance back from the edge of the cliff—so far as one can judge now of the original condition of the ground. The point is further defined by *ubi tugurium Faustuli fuit*. This hut, and its later stone representative, can hardly have been at the extreme edge of the cliff, and it is altogether probable that the ancient stone wall, at the top of the steps of Cacus, marks the approximate site of the tugurium. This terminus, then, of *Roma quadrata*, may be placed somewhere within a circle which has its centre at the top of the steps and a radius of not more than 20 metres.

The other point, the grove (*silva*) in *area Apollinis*, is not so easily located. The *area Apollinis* must mean the inclosure or temenos of the great temple of Apollo. The exact site of this temple has been assigned by most topographers to the spot between the Flavian Palace and the Hippodrome, and under the present *Villa Mills*, but since the demonstration by Hülsen (Rom. Mitth., 1896, 193-212) that this area can not possibly be large enough, it must be sought elsewhere. No room seems to be left for it except that assigned by Hülsen, viz., the extreme northeastern part of the hill, now largely occupied by the *Vigna di San Sebastiano*.

According to Hülsen's estimate, the very smallest possible dimensions which can be assigned to the porticus, within which the temple of Apollo stood, are about 80 x 90 metres, and probably it was much larger.

Now a line drawn from the top of the *scalae Caci* to the approximate centre of the *area Apollinis* (if it is placed at the northeastern corner of the hill), will be found to run very nearly east and west. This suggests at once that Varro may be describing the decumanus of a templum, especially as we observe that he is careful to follow the theory of the decumanus, by mentioning the eastern end first, the line being drawn ab oriente ad occasum.

The phrase 'quod ad aequilibrium foret posita' is unique in its use as descriptive of direction in space. *Aequilibrium* is occasionally used in the sense of horizontal, a meaning which is readily derived from the position of the arm of the balance when the weights are equal. If *aequilibrium* be the correct reading in this passage, such an interpretation is natural as would refer the position of *Roma quadrata* to the points of the compass, corresponding to the EW decumanus.

In fact, however, a templum drawn on this decumanus, does not correspond in the least with the top of the hill, but stretches far beyond it on the NE and SW where the angles project out into the Forum and the Velabrum.

This hypothesis, therefore, is untenable.

There can be no doubt that the line a silva . . . ad supercilium is an EW line, and if it can not be the decumanus of a quadratum, it may be the diagonal. On this as a diagonal, it is possible to draw a slightly trapezoidal figure which will include practically all the top of the hill, provided we place the tugurium Faustuli as close to the edge of the cliff as possible, and suppose the limit of the silva to be at the extreme eastern edge. This templum would not be square, but would answer the augural requirements.

We assume then that Varro was describing the extreme limits of Roma quadrata, which were of course the two opposite ends of the longest diagonal. It is evident that the augural boundary ran along the edge of the hill, on its top, and certainly *not outside* of the existing wall. It must either have run inside this wall, or have coincided with it. By no possibility could it have coincided with the pomerium described by Tacitus.

Let us now examine certain other passages.

(6) Festus 258: quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eius loci Ennius meminit cum ait "Et quis est erat (qui se sperat, Müller) Romae regnare quadratae."

Taking the text as it stands, it is clear that Festus is thinking of something quite different from the templum of the city in its ordinary sense, and that he has in mind some sort of a receptacle built of stone and square in shape. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether Ennius, in the passage quoted, was thinking of any such receptacle, and not rather of the Roma quadrata referred to elsewhere.

The phrase *ubi . . . adhiberi* suggests certain other passages which refer to the so-called mundus:—

(7) Plutarch, Romulus 11:—βόθρος γὰρ ὡρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν κομίτιον κυκλοτερῆς, ἀπαρχαὶ δὲ πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δὲ ὡς ἀναγκαῖοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος ἐξ ἣς ἀφίκτο γῆς ἔκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συνεμίγγυνον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον φὲ καὶ τὸν ὀλυμπὸν ὀνόματι, μοῦνδον. Εἴτα ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν.

(8) Ovid, *Fasti* IV, 821-827:

fossa fit ad solidum. fruges iaciuntur in ima  
et de vicino terra petita solo.  
fossa repletur humo plenaque imponitur ara,  
et novus accenso fungitur igne focus.  
inde premens stivam designat moenia sulco:  
alba iugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.

If this mundus was called *Roma quadrata*, then doubtless we have another reference to it in the following fragment of an inscription of the *Ludi Saeculares*:

(9) *Acta ludor. saecul. Sever.* Eph. Epig. VIII, 283, line 12:—  
tribunal [ . . . . . quod es] t ad Romam quadratam.

This tribunal was one of the several *tribunalia* on the Palatine from which the XV viri distributed the *suffimenta*. One of these was quite certainly "in Palatio in area Apollinis" (cf. Hülser, *Mitth.* 1896, 204 note).

(10) Ovid, *Tristia* III, 1, 27-64:

paruit et ducens "haec sunt fora Caesaris" inquit:  
"haec est a sacris quae via nomen habet.  
hic locus est Vestae, qui Pallada servat et ignem:  
hic fuit antiqui regia parva Numae."  
inde petens dextram "porta est" ait "ista Palati,  
hic Stator, hoc primum condita Roma loco est."  
singula dum miror, video fulgentibus armis  
conspicuos postes tectaque digna deo.  
"et Iovis haec" dixi "domus est?" quod ut esse putarem,  
augurium menti querna corona dabat.

(Apostrophe to Augustus)

inde tenore pari gradibus sublimia celsis  
ducor ad intonsi candida templa dei.  
signa peregrinis ubi sunt alterna columnis  
Belides, et stricto barbarus ense pater:  
quaeque viri docto veteres coepere novique  
pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent.

Hülser (loc. cit.) endeavors to prove that in this passage, *hoc primum condita Roma loco est* refers to this same mundus which was known to Ovid as *Roma quadrata*, and compares the form of expression used by Josephus, *Ant. Iud.* XIX 3, 2: ἐν εὐχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου γενομένοις—πρώτον δὲ οἰκηθῆναι τῆς Ἱωμαίων πόλεως τοῦτο

παραδίδωσιν ὁ περὶ αὐτῆς λόγος—καὶ ἡδη τοῦ δημοσίου ἀντιλαμβανομένοις πολὺ πλείων ἡ ἐπιφοίτησις ἡν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ετοι.

The pretorian guards are hurrying from the Palatine towards the Sacra Via, and passing the *area Palatina*.

Whether Ovid is referring to the *mundus* or not, there is little doubt that such a structure did exist, and the well-known figure on the Capitoline plan (Jordan, F. U. I. 1) probably represents it.

Furthermore, the direct statement of Festus (6) corroborated by the fragment of the inscription of the *Ludi Saeculares* (9) may be regarded as sufficient evidence that the term *Roma quadrata* was used to denote this *mundus*. We have already seen that it was also used to denote the city-templum, drawn on the line described by Varro, as a diagonal, and that the boundary of this templum can not have extended beyond the wall which surrounded the Palatine at its very edge. This boundary marked the augural limits of the city, as is implied in the very nature of a templum.

If now the line described by Tacitus (Ann. XII 24) as that of the pomerium of Romulus, and which extended from the *Ara Herculis per ima montis Palatini* to the *ara Consi*, the *curiae veteres*, and so around the hill, was the original pomerium, we are confronted with this dilemma:—

Either there were two city-templa, one called *Roma quadrata* on the hill, and another larger one inclosed by this pomerium line; or else one or the other of these inclosures was not an augural templum at all. Neither of these hypotheses is possible, and we are forced to the conclusion that Tacitus' line was not the original pomerium, and that his error was due to the current belief that the course followed by the *Luperci* in their procession, was that of this first pomerium.

The real pomerium of the Palatine city ran *within* the line of fortification, and marked the boundary of *Roma quadrata*. In this way the discrepancy between the natural meaning of the word "*post murum*," and the fact that Tacitus' line is outside the existing wall, can be explained.

SAMUEL BALL PLATNER.

#### IV.—ETYMOLOGIES.

The following paper is intended to throw light on the origin of several groups of related words.

Skt. *manus*, Lat. *manus*, Eng. *man*.

English *man* is known to be the same word as Skt. *manus*, 'man', stem *manu-*, which in Germanic became *manw-*, *mann*. The idea that the word is derived from *man* 'think' and originally meant 'the thinker' is so sophisticated and so contrary to what we know to be primitive man's conception of his relation to other animals, that no one could successfully defend it to-day. Cf. Kluge under *Mann* and Lanman under *manu*. Sanskrit *manus* 'man' is phonologically identical with Latin *manus* 'hand', and it is not difficult to show that the words are really one and the same. The figurative use of *hand* for the whole *man* is very natural and appears in almost every language. It refers to the hand as the skillful member and generally designates a laborer or a skillful person. Thus *deckhand*, *farmhand*, 'The *hands* were dissatisfied with their pay', 'He's a good *hand* at finding things', Dutch: 'een fijne *hand* in het vioolspel', German: 'Alle Hände auf Deck!'. In French it is *bras* 'arm' that is used in the same way to designate an employee. In Greek *πολυχειρία*, literally 'a multitude of hands', is used for a large number of workmen or assistants; cf. also *πολύχειρ* 'with many hands' = 'with many soldiers'. In Latin the plural of *manus* itself was at times used for 'laborers', as when Vergil says: *nos aera, manus, navalia demus*, Aeneid, 11, 329, *quale manus addunt ebori decus*, 1, 592. From the meaning 'workmen' to 'men' is but a short step and probably was first taken by workmen themselves. This use of *hand* is already common in English, especially in the form *all hands*: 'If all hands had been got together, they would not have more than half filled the room', Dickens; 'His moral character was exceedingly bad . . . he is still a loose *hand*', Russell, &c.; cf. the Oxford Dictionary. The change of meaning may also arise without intended metaphor, as when one person says, "All hands grasped the line at once", or "It passed from hand to hand",

and the listener conceives the whole person to whom the hand or hands belong. In this way *manus*, probably originally in the plural, crowded upon the older words for 'man'. Thus, for example, OE. *guma*, OHG. *gomo*, = Lat. *homo*, was limited to 'man' as contrasted with 'woman' and survives only in *bridegroom* and *Bräutigam*, just as *Mann* has since been crowded by *Mensch*. On the other hand a new word for 'hand' was needed, and we thus have explained the peculiar fact that the Indo-European languages have a variety of words for this very primitive idea. Some of these, being thus new words, can be associated with verbs etc., but it would probably be hopeless to try to get at the origin of the older *manus*, the conception being doubtless more primitive than even most verbal ideas.

*manna.*

By the side of the strong *mann*, we find a weak derivative, for example, Goth. and OE. *manna*. For this, two explanations are possible, of which I regard the second as the more likely. (1) The word may be a personal derivative formed from *manw-* when that still meant 'hand' and so be parallel with ON. *kampe* 'person having a beard', from *kampr* 'beard', *lande* 'countryman' from *land*, OE. *stēora* 'steersman' from *stēor* 'rudder', Goth. *stāua* 'judge' from *stāua* f. 'suit', 'trial', &c., (Kluge, *Stammbildungslehre*, § 16). Or (2) it may be simply a weak by-form of the strong *mann* 'man' (Kluge, St. § 17). Thus old English has *māg* and *māga* 'son' '(kins)man', *ðēow* and *ðēowa* 'servant'; and for OE. *lēod* 'prince', Old Norse has weak *ljōðe*; and for OE. *sweor* 'cousin', Gothic has weak *swaihra*. In all these cases the weak form probably originally denoted 'the child of a —', or one belonging to the general class; compare the rise of the derivative *Mensch* below. In Gothic the forms of the strong word and the weak word for 'man' became mixed; in most languages the strong form has prevailed, but German still has the plural *Mannen* in a special sense.

*mensch, minsk, minx.*

For *man* there was early formed an adjective in *-iska-*, which appears also as a substantive: Goth. *mannisks*, OHG., OS., OE., &c. *mennisc* 'human', OHG. *mennisco* 'human being' (compare the modern slang 'a human'), OE. *mennisc* 'people', 'crowd'. This word soon began to press upon the older *man* (as that had

upon still older words, page 427), largely restricting it to the masculine, while it itself retained the more general meaning 'human being' and later assumed, especially with the neuter gender, the meaning 'woman'. This latter idea developed as 'female servant', 'lady's maid', 'lisette' 'wanton girl', 'pert or coquettish girl', etc., and appears as the Ger. and Du. *Mensch*, LG. and Friz. *minsk*, Eng. *minks* or *minx*.

*manwus etc.*

The older meaning of *manw-* 'hand' is preserved in Gothic in *manwus* and *manwuba* 'ready at hand', 'handy', *manwipa* 'things or means at hand', *manwjan* 'to get ready', 'prepare'; whence Romance *manevis* &c. 'ready'; cf. Diez, Ety. Wört. under *manevir*.

*gaman, mana-, manag, many.*

In Germanic we generally have the *u*-stem *manw-* > *mann*, but not so in Gothic *ga-man* 'fellow-man', 'communion', and in Goth. and OHG. compounds in *mana-*. With this, one is tempted (cf. Kluge under *manch*) to associate Goth. *manag* &c. 'many', but for the still undetermined relation of OSlav. *mū-nogū* and OIr. *menicc* 'many'. In that case, *manag* originally meant 'having people', as Skt. *rōma-ça* meant 'having hair', 'hairy' (Kluge, St. § 202 &c.). From 'having people' the development 'populous', 'numerous' was natural. Compare Latin *populōsus* (<*populus* 'people'), English *populous* &c.: 'the dust . . . raised by your populous troops', Antony, III, 6, 50.

*gamang, among, egg-nog, mangelkrām.*

There is a compound derivative of the stem of *man*, with the suffix Gc. *g* < IE. *k* (Wilmanns,<sup>2</sup> II, § 342, § 416, p. 565 top). As an adjective it meant 'populous' (cf. the simplex *manag* above), as a substantive 'a crowd of people' (cf. Ger. *Menge*, OHG. *mēnigi*, < OHG. *manag*). The Gc. *gá-mana-ga-* or *gá-mānu-ga-* became WGc. *gamanga-*, with regular syncope of the third vowel (Wilmanns,<sup>2</sup> I, § 274). This appears as OS. *gimang*, OE. *ȝemōng*, with the meaning 'crowd', 'company', 'union', 'commerce', 'business', etc. It also occurs in the phrase OS. *an gimange*, OE. *on ȝemōng*, 'in (and into) the company of', 'among', whence MG., LG., and Friz. *mang* and *manken* and Eng. *among*.

With the meaning 'mixture' it is found in OE. *ȝeggimōng* and *ȝigmōng* (cf. Sweet's OET. p. 464) 'egg-mixture'. This *gg* rep-

resents a double palatal stop from the double palatal fricative  $\ddot{\chi}\ddot{\chi}$ , and must not be confounded with the earlier double palatal stop written *cg*, which arose out of *gj* and became *dž* in the seventh century (cf. *Anglia*, 22, 375 etc.). As though a simple word, *æggimong* to some extent suffered syncope of the medial vowel (Sievers, § 143) and simplification of the double consonant next to another consonant (Sievers, § 231, 2), whence the form *ægmong*. In both, the *æ* regularly became *ɛ* in Middle English and then shortened to *e*. It would not be strange if the form that OE. *æȝ* 'egg' thus assumed in this compound had had influence in favoring the Old-Norse form *egg* against the usual native English form of the simplex, that is *ey* or *eye*. The presence of two nasals and several *g*'s in *æȝ(gi)mong*, exposed it to confusion and dissimilation of the nasals, whereby one dropped out, compare OHG. *honang* > *honag* = OE. *huniȝ*, OE. *p̄enīȝ* > *p̄enīȝ*, OHG. *kuning* > MHG. *kūnic*, the frequent change of the Old English participial ending *-endne* to *-ende*, and cases like *windende* > *widende*, *tungena* > *tugena*, &c., Cosijn, p. 188. In this way, *æggimong* became *eggynog* (cf. OE. *hondȝeweorc* > Eng. *handywork*), and *ægmong* became *eggnog*, the usual modern form of the drink 'made of eggs, hot beer, sugar, and rum'. But there are still other forms (cf. Wright's Eng. Dialect Dict.): *eggynog* became *eggnoggy* (to consort with *whisky*, *brandy*, &c.), and *eggnog* appears as *egghog* and still oftener as *egghot*, with evident working of popular etymology. Moreover, *-nog* assumed to some extent an independent existence, cf.:

*Dog Walpole laid a quart of nog on't  
He'd either make a hog or dog on't.*

—Swift, Upon the Horrid Plot.

*Here's Norfolk nog to be had next door.*

—Vanbrugh, Journey to London, 1, 2.

This led Bradley (in the Oxford Dictionary) to assume that *eggnog* was from *egg* + *nog*, and *nog* short for *noggin* 'mug'; all of which is plausible, but for the OE. *æȝ(gi)mong* and the modern *eggynog*.

Frizian and Low German have also *mangel- mengel- meng-* in compounds like *mangelkrām* 'things mixed together'.

OE. &c. (*ȝe*)*mēnčgan*, \**mēnglan*, Eng. *minge*,  *mingle*, &c.;  
OE. &c. *mōngian*, *mōngēre*, Eng. *monger*, Lat. *mango*.

The word *gemang* forms the basis of various derivatives.

When the idea of a simplex is differentiated in derivative verbs, these are generally divided between the different weak conjugations (cf. also Sievers, § 416, 2). Thus in Old English we have, for example:—

I.	II.
<i>hyćgan</i> 'remember':	<i>hozian</i> 'think about';
<i>lēnćgan</i> 'extend', 'delay':	<i>longian</i> 'become long', 'long (for)';
<i>scyttan</i> 'remove or discharge (a debt)':	<i>scolian</i> 'move rapidly', 'shoot';
<i>wećcan</i> 'wake up':	<i>wacian</i> 'be awake';
<i>wećgan</i> 'move', 'stir':	<i>wazian</i> 'move', 'wag';
<i>wendan</i> 'turn':	<i>wandian</i> 'turn aside', 'be ashamed', 'neglect'.

As I shall show more fully in a future paper, the verbs of the first class (-ja- verbs) generally have verbal derivatives in -ing and nouns of agency in -jan-, while those of the second class (-ō-verbs) have verbal derivatives in -ung (with weakening to -eng-ing only before a strong syllable having a back vowel or a secondary stress, for example, *leornian*, *leornung*, *leornunga* or *leorninga*, *leorningsniht*, &c.; Sievers errs in restricting this vowel gradation to the Psalter: § 129, 255 A,) and nouns of agency in -an-; for example, Goth. *spilla* 'announcer': *spillōn* 'announce', OE. *hunta* 'hunter': *huntian* 'hunt', *scaða* 'thief': *scaðian* 'steal', -*wara* 'guardian': *warian* 'guard', &c. But the original method of forming nouns of agency by -an- early yielded to the use of the younger -āri- that became familiar to the Germanic people in the names of Roman officials, and functionaries, cf. Lat. *munētārius* > Gc. *munitāri*: OHG. *munizāri*, OS. *munitēri*, OE. *mynetēre* &c.: *mynetian*. The change was doubtless due to the fact that the native -an- was ambiguous, not being restricted to nouns of agency, while -āri was perfectly clear; also to the fact that the new nouns in -āri, like the old ones in -an- were associated with weak verbs of the second class, cf. *mynetian*. The struggle continued long and we find Chaucer still wavering between the older *hunte* and the younger *hunter*, both of which we have to-day in the names *Hunt* and *Hunter*. These principles are illustrated by the following words, which I have arranged on the basis of the old English:

(1) *žemong* 'mixture'.

(*že*) *mēnčgan* 'combine', 'mingle', 'mix', 'confuse', whence dialectic Eng. *minge*; Friz. *mengia*, OS. *mengian*, OHG. *mengan*, whence Ger. *mengen*.

\* *mēnglan*, Eng. *mingle*, Friz., Du., LG. *mengeln*, &c.

(*že*) *mēnčgung* 'mixing'.

(*že*) *mēnčg(ed)nes* 'mingling', 'connection'.

(*že*) *mēnčgedlit* 'mixed'.

(*že*) *mēnčgedlič* 'confusedly'.

Friz. *mengsel* 'mixture', 'dough'.

*mēnčga* 'merchant'.

(2) *žemong* 'commerce', 'business'; ON. *mang* 'traffic'.

(*že*) *mongian* 'carry on business', 'traffic', 'trade'; OS. *mangōn* (Du. *mangelen*), ON. *manga*.

*mōngung* 'trading', 'commerce'.

*mōngēre* 'trader', 'merchant', *flēstč-mōngēre* 'butcher'; ON., OHG. *mangāri*, *mengeri*, MHG., MDu., LG., Friz. *manger*, *menger*.

That these two related groups should have influenced one another is not at all strange. So we find *žemenčgung* (for \**žemenčging*) like *mōngung*, and *mēnčga* 'merchant' for *mēnčga* 'mixer' or \**mōnga*, 'merchant'. For, according to what was said above, we should expect that *mangāri* *mōngēre* was preceded by a \**mango*-\**mōnga*, and that such was the case is shown by the fact that, along with the German slave-dealer, his name went south and appears in post-Augustan Latin as *mango*. This is, then, one of the words that passed from Germanic into Latin, and not the reverse, as hitherto taken for granted, though this assumption left Latin *mango* quite unexplained. On another occasion I shall show that also in the case of *cheap*, *kauf*, *caupo*, it was the Latin that was the adopter, not the Germanic.

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ANN ARBOR, Michigan,  
August, 1901.

## ZARATHUSHTRA AND THE LÓGOS.

My esteemed friends the Trustees of the Sir J. Jejeebhoy Translation fund in Bombay requested me now some years ago to refute the doctrine that the gāthic Avesta dated from A. D., or 100 B. C. This curious view had been advanced, I need not say by whom, nor why I have delayed my publication. The theory was suggested chiefly upon the ground of a supposed similarity in the ideas involved in Philo's lógos and those which surround the vohumanah of the *Gáthas*, one of the chief Amesha-spends of the later, but still genuine Avesta. The general subject of philonian influence has had my attention since '76 more or less closely. The shortest discussion of the Greek lógos, which is at the same time authoritative and exhaustive, is Heinze's *Lehre vom Logos in der griechischen philosophie*, 1872; much valuable information is also afforded in his work, packed full of facts, by Dr. Carl Siegfried; see in his 'Philo von Alexandria als Ausleger des Alten Testaments, Jena, 1875.'<sup>1</sup>

I began all my well-meant studies with an investigation of the history of the Gnosis, looking for traces of it in Philo. This was earlier than '72. And I had found out Matter's book upon the subject, which is by this time another quarter of a century old.

Matter held strongly to the view that much influence had been exercised by the Zend Avesta upon the gnostic developments; so after some years of enjoyable labour in Germany and Italy upon the Greeks and Germans, with reams upon Kant, etc., as the result, I turned in '75 to the Avesta.

In the first place it is asha, who is the Vedic *ṛtā* who, or which, should be compared, and not vohumanah. For asha, as the rhythm of law in nature, the sacrifice, and the creation is indeed a Lógos; and also holds decidedly a nearer place to Ahura in the *Gáthas*

<sup>1</sup> See also Gladisch Herakleitos und Zoroaster, 1859, now badly antiquated; also Daehne, *Geschichtliche Darstellung der Jüdisch-alexandrischen Religionsphilosophie*, Halle, 1834; also Keferstein, *Philo's Lehre von den göttlichen Mittelwesen*, Leipzig, 1846. See Zeller's incomparable sketch, as of course. Tauchnitz edition of Philo, 1880, may be used, as it gives all that is practically needed and holds in view the emendations of Mangey; it is moreover very cheap.

than vohumanah, who is 'sane benevolence' rather than 'law.' <sup>1</sup> Vohumanah elbowed himself, or itself, so to speak, into the first place in the later parsism and even in the later but still genuine Avesta, owing to a misapprehension on the part of the early pahlavi commentators at Y. 28, 2 or 3. Asha should therefore be chiefly in our thoughts here. As to the time-honoured allusion to the Honover, which has been so seriously recalled by writers on this subject, the mention of it again in this connection, while Asha or even Vohumanah are forthcoming, is enough to overpower any Zendist who has a sense of humour, or a human temper; for the 'Honover' is nothing in the world but the late degeneration of the name of the post-gáthic piece, the Ahun-vairyá; so 'hono-ver,' and has no original meaning as a lógos in any Greek sense whatsoever; though, for the matter of that, if we had no Gátha, then of course anything which might be called the 'word' 'which was before the creation' would do; cp. Y. XIX. As to the lógos of Heraclitus, that was not asha nor vohumanah for the simple reason that it was supreme, wholly materialistic, and yet later called 'divine'; and its analogon, if analogy were possible between the splendid pioneer panlogist and Zarathushtra, would be Ahura Mazda himself, and not Asha nor any of the Ameshas in any sense. Yet here we have the first occurrence of the word (not to speak too strictly),<sup>2</sup> and this was the proper beginning of the 'lógos' in the Greek Philosophy.

When people began to talk about the 'absolute intelligence' according to which 'nothing happens or is made in vain,' this looked a little more like it; but it was in 462 B.C. circa<sup>3</sup> when Anaxagoras first invaded Athens with his *νοῦς* that we really settle down to the question. But if 'mind stirred matter like a whirlpool' after it had rested during 'endless time,'<sup>4</sup> we begin to get a glimpse of the doctrine that it (matter) was inert, etc.; and then at last that it became so full of all things evil that a series of 'causes' had to be introduced between the Supreme Being and the created world lest his holiness should be defiled by his own evil creature. The last of these agents became the 'Demiurge.'

<sup>1</sup> I generally write vohumanah and asha where they mean attributes, Asha and Vohumanah where they are personified.

<sup>2</sup> See Sextus Empiricus, *adversus Math.* 27, 127 flg. quoted by Heinze, p. 44, where the adjective *θεῖος* or *θεῖον* is mentioned twice; but he hardly means to give the impression that H. used the word in this connection.

<sup>3</sup> See Zeller, *Erster Theil*, p. 974.

<sup>4</sup> An Avesta expression by the way; see Vend. 19.

At a first superficial glance we might be disposed to go off with the idea that we have found an analogy here, not with Asha indeed, but with the Geūsh tashan. A Geūsh tashan, 'Herd's-maker' takes up the dialogue at Y. 29, 2, either as another name for Ahura, as an intimate associate; but my business at present is first with asha or vohumanah. Here we seemed also to have a fine analogon ready to our hand.

The cause of the created world according to the greatest (Greek) moralist was the 'goodness' of God, which makes a very pleasing 'vohu manah'; but our point here also is not so much an accidental coincidence in the shape of a common idea as the interior character of two separate schemes. Why were any intermediaries needed at all, even according to Anaxagoras and Socrates? The reason continued ever the same; matter was inert, evil, defiled, etc. And just as this doctrine of intermediaries developed through the series of subsequent men, so long as there were any successors, so the doctrine of the worthlessness of matter seems to have become intensified, till Philo at last had no good word left for it.

This dualism between matter and God was indeed repudiated by the Stoa and those who came under its influence, but only to be revived in Greek-Egypt by the predecessors of Philo and then by the alexandrian himself.

What I wished to say in a few words was this, which no expert anywhere will deny, viz., that the entire concept of the platonian dualism, really due to Anaxagoras, is totally foreign to the Avesta. Matter as such was no evil or detested thing with any Zoroastrian writer, original or late, as there was no 'chasm' between it and God. And the platonian *νοῦς*, seldom called by its author 'the *λόγος*,' was, with its successors, thought out to bridge such a supposed chasm. Therefore such a *λόγος* possessed no interior analogy with either asha or vohumanah for the reason stated.

The difference between the two is radical, a certain superficial resemblance in the expressions describing the two concepts to the contrary notwithstanding. For it was, and simply is, impossible that any two detailed systems of such a character and on the same general subject, theogony, etc., could be stated without a strong external likeness between the several items. How could any 'theogony' be thought out without an idea of 'benevolence' and of 'justice'? Such ideas are universal and not to be excluded. While Plato established more fully than any predecessor the idea

of the chasm between God and his (Plato's) idea of matter, i. e. 'necessity' (sic), he did so only less pointedly showing a series of mediating 'powers' or ideas; but Philo pushed vigorously on till he made his lógos the great intermediary. And this brings into the boldest relief the essential difference between his lógos and the Avesta as stated above. Nowhere is there, I repeat as I have said, anywhere so much as a surmise in the old Avesta that the material substratum of the Universe is evil in any sense; for the the good and the evil creations are good or evil because of the character of the 'first two Spirits.' Ahura did not need any intermediary whatsoever in creating his good creation. And just here indeed this especial feature of both Asha and Vohumanah becomes important to us; it is that both the one and the other were '*created*' (by Ahura) that is to say, where they are considered otherwise than as His attributes; see the gátha-places, whereas the platonic-philonian lógos was neither created nor uncreated, (sic); it emanated (so) from the *āv*.

The Geūsh tashan or Herd-maker, to return to this, is a term which, as introduced at Y. 29, 2 and in Y. 31, 9 seems to have conveyed the idea that there existed in the mind of the composer a necessity for a secondary maker of 'the herd,' that is to say of the 'creation'; but this is only an apparent necessity founded upon a false inference. Ideas, like events, cast their shadows before;—and it is probably true that there already began to form itself within the minds of those who toyed with speculation a vague conception of an associate creator; motived probably by a reason diametrically the opposite to that which influenced Plato and his later Alexandrian disciple; but this would show an anterior date for the gátha-places, whereas the object held in view by those who advanced the comparison of vohumanah and the lógos was to impair, if not to destroy, the long settled claims of the Gáthas to antiquity.

Be this as it might, in the Gátha itself the term 'Geūsh tashan' is distinctly taken apart and applied to Ahura. See Yasna, 51, 7.

'Thou who didst create (tashō) the kine, the waters and the plants, long life and health—' . . . Tashō is the verbal, tashan (tashā) the nominal form.

Another item, has, however, as I confess, often given me pause and many an hour of long and curious reflection. It is the occurrence of the expression 'the better than the good'; i. e. the 'summum bonum.'

I have not been at all disturbed by the fact that almost its mate

occurs in a list of similar academic terms in Philo as a title of his God. He was among a mass of things τὸ κρείττον μὲν ἀγαθὸν.<sup>1</sup> For in the Gātha it has nothing to do with such an application. In Y. 43, 2 'the better than the good' is the end, or goal, toward which the beatified approaches, whether here or hereafter, the summum bonum: 'thus that better than the good may he approach, who hath taught us the straight paths of the law.' But I have been always deeply impressed, not to say staggered, by the occurrence of such a thought at all. What a depth and refinement of ideas it discloses.

After a little, however, one recovers from the startled suspicion; as item after item of a similar cast comes back to the recollection. What could be more clear, pointed or profound in an intellectual sense than the astonishing words 'rewards for this bodily life and the mental', and 'whose own soul reproaches them,' 'astonishing' for a hymn in Iran at even the latest (early) date ever suggested, till at the next moment we have the speculative problem categorically put at Y. 28, 11.

'Teach thou me forth to proclaim from thy mouth of spirit the laws by which the primeval world arose'; literally, "forth to me teach from thy spirit to proclaim with thy mouth those *things* (i. e. laws, powers, or causes) in accordance with which the first world arose; i. e. became existent, 'bavat.'" Once again at home amidst such gāthic concepts, we must simply surrender to the *vanhēuš vahyō*—'the better than the good':—and no longer doubt that the entire gāthic literature at that time and place was only not philosophic because it was theosophic, so to speak, in a firm, and by no means in a certain modern, sense.

Very many expressions conveying ideas similar to asha and vohumanah were unavoidable in any system such as that of Philo and his sympathetic predecessors. No one at all like Philo could possibly write so much and say it so elaborately without redoubling scraps of speech which remind us of asha at every step. In fact he said so much that he used up the Greek vocabulary, pretty nearly, in his fervour. The two themes were practically identical; both the authors were keen and pious, each had predecessors doubtless whose 'call' they were perpetuating. How is it possible that throngs of expressions closely allied should not occur in what the two teachers said? But their principles on the *lógos* and its business were simply radically

<sup>1</sup> De Legatione ad Gaium II, 546.

opposed. In fact if I had to make a choice, (I for one) would call *asha* nearer the *lógos* of the panlogistic stoics, or to that sublime fire-*lógos* of the great Ephesian, the wonderful concept to which I first alluded, though both he and the stoics practically pushed the gods aside, for neither of them accepted the so-called 'chasm' between a God and matter, and each of them lacked that one incompatibility with the Zoroastrian concepts.

Not wishing to encroach upon space here, I have elaborated this subject (so far as articles in reviews or journals can well do so) in the July numbers of the *Journal of the R. Asiatic Society*, and of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*,<sup>1</sup> to which the reader is referred. They embody the conclusions of well-nigh a quarter of a century, and of some four years of special labour on the Greeks and the Germans from the spring of '72.

In the essay which I have been preparing for my friends in Bombay I have also elaborately cited all the texts, overdoing the matter as usual, unfortunately, with unnecessary care.

With regard to the influence of Mazdaism upon Heraclitus,—there is no doubt at all that such a man as he was knew a very great deal about Mazdaism, so far as the form of it which surged about him during certain years of his prime was knowable;—though it is somewhat curious that no gibe upon it has survived from him. The armies of Darius were in possession of the territory up to the gates of Ephesus for periods longer or shorter; and Ephesus was not captured for the very reason that it always stood true to Persia; and it is conceded that he (Heraclitus himself) was invited to the court of Darius, the false letters being the echo of the fact. That the dualism of the Mazda-worship existed in the lores of the Persian priests who accompanied the monarch, I hold to be most probable, if not practically certain,—and also that Heraclitus was much interested as well as amused by what he could learn of it; but that it really influenced his entire departure I hardly feel. He was a singularly original person, and I do not think that the 'barbaric' lore of his hated enemy could have been the originating cause of his own astounding system. A system which, as I think, a great many of us are beginning to feel more and more, came very near indeed to suggesting the 'key' to the great Enigma.

OXFORD, FEB., 1902.

LAWRENCE MILLS.

<sup>1</sup> See also the last number, Jan. 1902.

## NOTES.

### CICERO'S JUDGMENT OF LUCRETIUS.

*Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingenii multae tamen artis. Sed cum veneris* (ad Quint. frat. II 9, 3).

It had seemed as if pretty general agreement had at length been reached concerning this passage in an interpretation somewhat as follows: "The criticism of Quintus with which Cicero expresses his accord was that Lucretius had not only much of the *genius* which characterized the older Latin poets (as Ennius or Accius), but also much of the *art* of the new school (so essentially Tyrrell ad loc. following a suggestion of Munro)." The word which has caused difficulty is *tamen*. For while it is true that in ancient as well as modern usage there is a frequent antithesis between *ingenium* and *ars*, yet it did not seem clear why this antithesis should be emphasized if both are accorded to Lucretius. For this reason it was felt that one or the other quality was denied to him, and therefore *non* was inserted either before *multis* or *multae*, or the antithesis was eliminated by changing *tamen* to *etiam*. But agreement was never reached in any of these suggestions and opinion had apparently begun to crystallize in the interpretation of the text as given above.

Professor F. Marx, however, in a valuable article on Lucretius in the *Neue Jahrbücher* for 1899 (Vol. III, p. 536) goes back to *<non> multis* and Mr. Saintsbury, in his recent volume on the History of Literary Criticism (p. 215), does likewise, selecting with rather palpable partizanship the form which will yield the most effective condemnation of Cicero for failing to recognize the genius whose fate had been entrusted to his keeping. This wavering in a conclusion which had begun to seem fixed has made me bold to advance a view of this passage which has always seemed to me the natural one, but which has not, to my knowledge, been advocated publicly.

The text I accept as sound, but I would look upon *tamen*, not as marking the antithesis between *ingenium* and *ars*, but as indicating the point at which Cicero dissents from the judgment of

Quintus—that is, in contrast to *ita*. The form of expression is a familiar one, but an example may not be superfluous: *fac ita esse; tamen hoc ferendum nullo modo est* (Cic. *Verr.* II 141). And so in our passage the relation is *ita sunt . . . tamen*, and not *ingeni . . . tamen artis*, as is assumed by Tyrrell (*supra*) and others, and recently by Norden (*Antike Kunstprosa*, Vol. I, p. 182), who cites a parallel usage from *Seneca Rhet.*<sup>1</sup> Apparently Quintus had written that the verses of Lucretius were characterized by *multis luminibus ingeni*, and had either expressed the opinion or implied that they lacked in *ars*. Cicero writes in reply: *Lucreti poemata ut scribis ita sunt multis luminibus ingeni*, so far agreeing with his brother and quoting his words; but he adds in dissent *multae tamen artis*. That there was disagreement between the two in some respect is suggested by the words which follow: *Sed cum veneris*—‘but we’ll discuss the matter more fully when you come.’<sup>2</sup> Apart from the objection to *tamen* which others have felt, it would seem to me unnatural that Cicero should repeat verbatim or essentially the judgment of Quintus unless it were to express a partial dissent from it, to which, as has been said, the succeeding words point. Finally, the formula of partial agreement and exception, *ita . . . sed* or *tamen*, is so common that it seems to me a Roman reader must have grouped the words together in this manner most naturally.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

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#### CICERO AD ATTICUM.

The postal facilities of ancient Rome were precarious at best, and it seems quite clear that Roman ideas concerning the inviolability of private letters were very much less strict than ours. We should therefore expect to find Roman letter-writers resorting to all manner of devices to render their private correspondence unintelligible to prying eyes, and there is plenty of testimony to the fact that they did so. In Cicero’s case, we have his own explicit statements. So (*Ep. ad Att.* II 20. 3) *de re publica breviter ad te*

<sup>1</sup> *Controv. Praef.* I 17; *memoria ei natura quidem felix, plurimum tamen arte adiuta.*

<sup>2</sup> For this interpretation and punctuation of the text, which is obviously correct, cf. F. Marx, *Berl. Ph. Woch.*, 1891, col. 835. A passage of similar import and brevity of expression I owe to my colleague, Professor W. G. Hale, *Ad fam. XII* 1, 2; *Verum haec propediem et multa alia coram.*

scribam, iam enim charta ipsa ne nos prodat pertimesco: itaque posthac, si erunt mihi plura ad te scribenda, *ἀλληγορίαις* obscurabo.

Another suggestion is made by Cicero Att. II 19. 5. (posthac ad te aut, si perfidelem habebo cui dem, scribam plane omnia, aut, si obscure scribam, tu tamen intelleges; in eis epistolis me Laelium, te Furium faciam; cetera erunt *ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς*,) and modified in the next letter. (II 20. 5 quod scripseram me<sup>1</sup> Furio scripturum, nihil necesse est tuum nomen mutare. Me faciam Laelium et te Atticum, neque utar meo chirographo neque signo, si modo erunt eiusmodi litterae, quas in alienum incidere nolim.)

The two periods of Cicero's life when such precautions would have been most needful, for Atticus' sake if not for his own, were the months of his exile (696-7) and those which elapsed between the June day 706 when he finally followed Pompey over seas and his pardon by Cæsar more than a year after the battle of Pharsalia. These letters comprise the third and eleventh books *ad Atticum*.

Turning now to the internal evidence of the text, we are struck by the entire absence in these two books of those Greek epithets and quotations which occur so frequently in most of the other letters to Atticus. We know from Att. X 8. 1. that Cicero's ever prudent friend felt so keenly the danger which attended their correspondence in 705 as to have doubted the desirability of writing at all, and we know that Cicero disregarded the delicate intimation even while admitting its wisdom. Still harder would it have been for him in 696 or 707 to deny himself such an outlet for his conflicting emotions as was afforded by these most free and intimate epistolary outpourings; and that he compromised the matter by employing a cipher seems at least a plausible theory.

We need not suppose that he is referring to the comparative laboriousness of following a code, when he makes use—as he does so often at these times—of such phrases as *plura scribere non possum* and *non queo plura scribere*, and still less that he was too much disturbed in mind during those trying times to have the patience requisite for employing a difficult cipher, for he undoubtedly had at hand an expert amanuensis, who possessed the key to all his "enigmas," and who was able to use the most complex. But might we not satisfactorily explain the absence of Greek words by supposing that he adopted some such simple expedient as that of moving the letters of the Latin alphabet a certain number of

<sup>1</sup> Reading of M., variously altered by editors who have thought emendation necessary.

places forward or back? Greek words could not have been left intact on such a page, for their significance would have been suggestive to the inquisitive reader, while, if they too had been transposed, according to the code, but in their own alphabet, the small, isolated groups of foreign characters must have given the clue to the cipher. Nor could the letters of the Greek words have been transposed and then written in Latin characters, because of the different order in which the letters occur in the two alphabets as well as the presence in the Greek of the double-consonant symbols. The only feasible way would have been to keep to the vernacular, as Cicero has done in the third and eleventh books.

LOUISE DODGE.

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MAMATPAI.

In the current volume of this Journal XXII, p. 195 foll., two American scholars have tried with greater or less probability to carry back to their Indian original form a number of Indian glosses in the Lexicon of Hesychios. With respect to one of them *μαμάτραι* *οἱ στρατηγοὶ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς*, I would propose another explanation which gives both a simpler account of the word itself and one more in accordance with phonetics. In my opinion, *μαμάτραι* represents Skrt. *mahāmātrāḥ*, a well-known term to denote a minister of high rank. *Mahāmātrāḥ samṛddhe cāmātye hastipakā dhīpe*. 'Mahāmātra signifies as well a high minister as an elephant-driver.' So the Medinikośa. In literature the word is very common in both acceptations. In the Amorakośa commentary found in the edition of Vamanacharya Jhalakikar, Bombay, 1890, the right etymology is given (p. 181) *mahati mātrā yeṣāṁ te mahāmātrāḥ*. Its translation by *στρατηγοὶ* may have been made by Megasthenes or some other source of information about Indian matters in the time of the Diadochoi; and as *στρατηγὸς* is employed in a wider sense than to denote mere military power, it may have been considered an adequate term for rendering tolerably well the name by which the Indian high officials were designated. Cp. *στρατηγὸς* as equivalent of the Roman *praetor*. That *mahāmātra* in Greek transcription must become *μαμάτρα* (as to the accent, cp. *mātrā*), is almost evident.

GRONINGEN.

J. S. SPEYER.

## REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

**Assyrian and Babylonian Letters** belonging to the Kouyunjik Collections of the British Museum, by ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, Ph. D., Professor of the Semitic Languages and Literatures in the University of Chicago. Part V. The University of Chicago Press, Luzac and Co., London, 1900.

The value of the letters and dispatches to students of Assyriology is not easily overestimated. They frequently supplement the historical inscriptions with valuable details, and, in some instances, are the only source of information in regard to important events; they cast much light upon the administrative methods of the Assyrian government, and upon the practical workings of the state religion; and, although with few exceptions of an official character, they furnish valuable information concerning Assyro-Babylonian life and customs. From the standpoint of philology they constitute a rich mine, yielding a wealth of material to be found in no other class of cuneiform texts. At first, owing to the superior attractions of the historical, religious, grammatical, and lexicographical texts, the letter tablets were little studied, and it is only within the last fifteen years that they have their due share of attention.

Father Strassmaier in his *Alphabetisches Verzeichniss* (1886), S. A. Smith in his *Assyrian Letters* (1888) and in his *Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals*, and Dr. Hugo Winckler in his *Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten* (Part II, 1894), have published a considerable number of these texts, and Prof. Friedrich Delitzsch, in a series of articles in *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* (Vols. I & II, 1889-91) laid the foundation for their scientific study. But to Prof. Harper belongs the credit of conceiving and carrying into execution the plan of publishing a complete corpus of Assyrian and Babylonian letters, thus making the whole mass of these interesting texts available for study. The first volume of Prof. Harper's *Letters* appeared in 1892, and five volumes have now been published containing, in all, 538 texts edited with great care and skill, and printed in a manner that leaves nothing to be desired. The fact that at least three additional volumes will be required to complete the series is evidence both of the magnitude of the undertaking and of the wealth of material available. The fifth volume, which has recently appeared, measures fully up to the standard of excellence set by its predecessors.

Among the writers of the 103 letters contained in it may be

mentioned Tem-Asur, who is probably to be identified with the eponym of the year 717 B. C.; Tâb-çil-Eshara, governor of the city of Asshur, who filled the office of eponym in 714; Ashur-rêçu'a who, under Sargon, held a military command on the northern frontier of Assyria, and is mentioned in the correspondence of Sennacherib; Arad-Nabû, a priestly official contemporary with Esarhaddon; and Bel-ibnî, governor of the Gulf District in 650, who played an important part in the Elamite wars of Ashurbanipal. It should be noted, by the way, that Nos. 460 (K. 1250) and 462 (K. 1374), although the writer's name is broken away in both instances, were certainly written by Bel-ibnî. The subject matter, the general style, and several marked peculiarities of expression leave no room for doubt as to their authorship. No. 469 (48-11-4, 282), although badly mutilated, is especially interesting. It contains an appeal to the King from the people of Erech who state that a dispute about some houses, gardens, and other property had been decided in their favor by "thy father Ashurbanipal" (obv. 12-13; rev. 1). The King addressed must, therefore, have been either Ashur-etyl-ilâni or Sin-shar-ishkun (the Saracus of Abydenus), and the letter affords new evidence of the fact that the rule of Assyria was maintained in Babylonia for some time after the death of Ashurbanipal.

Very few textual errors have escaped the editor's watchful care. In No. 521, rev. l. 21, *ar* (*ar-ra-ti*) should be read instead of *bi*, and, in No. 469, rev. l. 2, the context shows that the first character must be *di* (*di-i-nu*) not *ki*. Both errors are trivial and the present writer has discovered no others. In the preface, Prof. Harper states that Part VI will probably be ready within the present year, and it is to be hoped that this expectation may be realized. The appearance of a new volume of the *Letters* is ever a welcome event.

CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON.

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Textes et Monuments Figurés Relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra,  
publiés avec une Introduction Critique par Franz Cumont,  
Professeur à l'Université de Gand. Bruxelles, H. Lamertin.  
Two Volumes, 4°: Volume II, Textes et Monuments, 1896,  
pp. viii, 554; Volume I, Introduction, 1899, pp. xxviii, 377.

When a certain scholar of international reputation, during a recent Winckelmannsfest at the German Archaeological Institute at Rome, pictured as the ideal of scholarship that in which there should be a union of the untiring industry and patience of the Teuton and the brilliant intuition of the Latin, he gave utterance to a sentiment which is common among scholars of the Latin nations, who, while they admire and imitate German scholarship,

find in it a certain heaviness and a tendency to rest content with the bare collection and presentation of material. After an examination of M. Cumont's two beautiful volumes on Texts and Monuments Relative to the Mysteries of Mithras, we cannot but think that their author, if indeed he has not fully realized this ideal, has at least more nearly approached it than any scholar who has yet written on a like subject. His geographical position typifies his scholarship: living on ground common to Teuton and Latin, and *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, he exhibits in the highest degree the characteristics of both German and French scholarship.

An examination of M. Cumont's work properly begins with the second volume, which was first issued, and contains the texts and monuments which constitute the sources of our knowledge of the cult of Mithras. The contents are presented under three heads—*Textes Littéraires*, *Textes Épigraphiques*, and *Monuments Figurés*. Under *Textes Littéraires*, the author gives oriental, Greek, and Latin literary sources, arranged according to the alphabetical order of their authors' names. Greek and Latin sources are grouped together under one head. Under oriental sources, only Armenian texts are given, and those in translation. To have transcribed all the texts which form his oriental sources would have necessitated the presentation, not only of a great part of the Avesta, but of the Pahlavi writings, and would have drawn the author into a task which he prefers to leave to those whose knowledge of the oriental languages will permit them to do justice to it. He therefore limits himself to the transcription of a translation of the Armenian texts, and refers the reader by foot-notes to the Avesta and other oriental sources. Concluding the literary texts is a collection of *Textes Douteux*, passages which seem to contain allusions to Mithras, but are not beyond doubt. Following is an appendix containing *Noms Théophores* to the number of one hundred and six, classified according to territory.

Under *Textes Épigraphiques* are arranged in two divisions oriental, and Greek and Latin inscriptions. Three inscriptions in Persian constitute the oriental epigraphic sources, while there are five hundred and forty-seven in Greek and Latin. These are classified according to provincial distribution in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The number of Greek inscriptions is exceedingly small. Thirty-six *Inscriptions Douteuses*, five *Inscriptions Fausses*, with a concordance for use as a guide to *C. I. L.*, *C. I. G.*, etc., follow.

The third part of Volume II—*Monuments Figurés*—is a catalogue of all the known Mithraic monuments. Temples, grottoes, coins, amulets, paintings, statues, reliefs, altars, and all other objects having to do with the worship, are classified in the same manner as the inscriptions, are minutely described, and abundantly illustrated by four hundred and ninety-three cuts, and nine plates in heliotype. This is the most valuable and important part

of the volume. Following are *Monuments Douteux, Falsifications Modernes*, an appendix treating *Pierres Gravées et Amulettes*, and an extensive supplement repeating the classification of the whole of the preceding part of the volume. An exhaustive index concludes the whole.

We turn now from the sources to M. Cumont's critique on them in Volume I. Besides the preface, table of contents, and bibliography, there are two main parts to this volume—*Critique des Documents*, and *Conclusions*. After chapters on *Les Livres Iraniens*, *Textes Syriques et Arméniens*, *Textes Grecs et Latins*, and *Les Inscriptions*, M. Cumont proceeds to discuss at length the principal source of information regarding Mithracism—*Les Monuments*. This part of the work occupies the whole of Chapter V, and is divided into sixteen sections, whose content may be judged by the following brief outline. Naturally, by far the greater part of the chapter is given to the consideration of the typical Mithraic relief which invariably represents the bull and its slayer, the scorpion, the serpent and the dog, and which very frequently represents, in addition to this group, many other symbolic objects—the raven, the Sun-god, the fig-tree, the lion, the ewer, the dadophoroi—and in rarer instances is enclosed in a frame of figures and scenes in relief—the signs of the zodiac, the Moon-goddess, Mithras and the Sun-god, Mithras in pursuit of the bull, etc., etc. I. The Mithraeum, its parts and their appointments. II. Mithracism essentially Persian, though modified by Chaldean influence. III. The lion-headed figure identified as the Mithraic Kronos, the Persian god of Infinite Time. IV. The god of Infinite Time and his relation to the god of the Heavens, Zeus, Jupiter, and Atlas. V. Representations of the Seasons and the Winds. The group of the lion, ewer, and serpent symbolical of Fire, Water, and Earth. VI. The Signs of the Zodiac and the Planets. Modification of the religion of ancient Iran by Chaldean astrology. VII. The Sun and the Moon. VIII. The Persian pantheon. Catalogue of Persian divinities whose names appear in Greek, Armenian, and Syriac sources. IX. The Persian pantheon on the monuments. Its identification with the Hellenic pantheon. X, XI. The series of small scenes surrounding the group of the tauroktonos on certain of the larger monuments. These scenes are the illustrations of some lost religious poem, and are generally arranged approximately as they are found on the monument of Osterburken (no. 246). With this monument as a basis, after changing the order slightly and supplying from other monuments, the scenes fall into two groups: illustrations of the legend of the generation of the gods and the origin of the world, and illustrations of the legend of Mithras. In the first group are: Infinite Time; Tellus and Atlas bearing the globe, representing the union of Earth and Heavens. Juno and Jupiter; Oceanus; the Moirai; Infinite Time presenting his successor, Ahura-Mazda, with the thunderbolt, the symbol of authority; Ahura-Mazda

find in it a certain heaviness and a tendency to rest content with the bare collection and presentation of material. After an examination of M. Cumont's two beautiful volumes on Texts and Monuments Relative to the Mysteries of Mithras, we cannot but think that their author, if indeed he has not fully realized this ideal, has at least more nearly approached it than any scholar who has yet written on a like subject. His geographical position typifies his scholarship: living on ground common to Teuton and Latin, and *doctus sermones utriusque linguae*, he exhibits in the highest degree the characteristics of both German and French scholarship.

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Under *Textes Épigraphiques* are arranged in two divisions oriental, and Greek and Latin inscriptions. Three inscriptions in Persian constitute the oriental epigraphic sources, while there are five hundred and forty-seven in Greek and Latin. These are classified according to provincial distribution in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The number of Greek inscriptions is exceedingly small. Thirty-six *Inscriptions Douteuses*, five *Inscriptions Fausses*, with a concordance for use as a guide to *C. I. L.*, *C. I. G.*, etc., follow.

The third part of Volume II—*Monuments Figurés*—is a catalogue of all the known Mithraic monuments. Temples, grottoes, coins, amulets, paintings, statues, reliefs, altars, and all other objects having to do with the worship, are classified in the same manner as the inscriptions, are minutely described, and abundantly illustrated by four hundred and ninety-three cuts, and nine plates in heliotype. This is the most valuable and important part

of the volume. Following are *Monuments Douteux, Falsifications Modernes*, an appendix treating *Pierres Gravées et Amulettes*, and an extensive supplement repeating the classification of the whole of the preceding part of the volume. An exhaustive index concludes the whole.

We turn now from the sources to M. Cumont's critique on them in Volume I. Besides the preface, table of contents, and bibliography, there are two main parts to this volume—*Critique des Documents*, and *Conclusions*. After chapters on *Les Livres Iraniens, Textes Syriaques et Arméniens, Textes Grecs et Latins*, and *Les Inscriptions*, M. Cumont proceeds to discuss at length the principal source of information regarding Mithracism—*Les Monuments*. This part of the work occupies the whole of Chapter V, and is divided into sixteen sections, whose content may be judged by the following brief outline. Naturally, by far the greater part of the chapter is given to the consideration of the typical Mithraic relief which invariably represents the bull and its slayer, the scorpion, the serpent and the dog, and which very frequently represents, in addition to this group, many other symbolic objects—the raven, the Sun-god, the fig-tree, the lion, the ewer, the dadophoroi—and in rarer instances is enclosed in a frame of figures and scenes in relief—the signs of the zodiac, the Moon-goddess, Mithras and the Sun-god, Mithras in pursuit of the bull, etc., etc. I. The Mithraeum, its parts and their appointments. II. Mithracism essentially Persian, though modified by Chaldean influence. III. The lion-headed figure identified as the Mithraic Kronos, the Persian god of Infinite Time. IV. The god of Infinite Time and his relation to the god of the Heavens, Zeus, Jupiter, and Atlas. V. Representations of the Seasons and the Winds. The group of the lion, ewer, and serpent symbolical of Fire, Water, and Earth. VI. The Signs of the Zodiac and the Planets. Modification of the religion of ancient Iran by Chaldean astrology. VII. The Sun and the Moon. VIII. The Persian pantheon. Catalogue of Persian divinities whose names appear in Greek, Armenian, and Syriac sources. IX. The Persian pantheon on the monuments. Its identification with the Hellenic pantheon. X, XI. The series of small scenes surrounding the group of the tauroktonos on certain of the larger monuments. These scenes are the illustrations of some lost religious poem, and are generally arranged approximately as they are found on the monument of Osterburken (no. 246). With this monument as a basis, after changing the order slightly and supplying from other monuments, the scenes fall into two groups: illustrations of the legend of the generation of the gods and the origin of the world, and illustrations of the legend of Mithras. In the first group are: Infinite Time; Tellus and Atlas bearing the globe, representing the union of Earth and Heavens, Juno and Jupiter; Oceanus; the Moirai; Infinite Time presenting his successor, Ahura-Mazda, with the thunderbolt, the symbol of authority; Ahura-Mazda

contending with a giant of evil—the Persian gigantomachy. The second group includes: the birth of Mithras; Mithras, nude, cutting fruit and leaves from a fig-tree, in which is the bust of a god, and before which one of the winds blows on Mithras; Mithras discharging an arrow against a rock and creating a fountain before which a figure kneels to catch the water in his palms; the bull in a small boat, and near by the sacred animal a second time, under a roof to which (no. 273 *ter* Suppl.) two figures are about to set fire—allusions, perhaps to a flood and a conflagration; other episodes in the legend of the bull—his flight, the pursuit by Mithras, who finally bears him away on his shoulder. The conclusion of this series is of course the large central figure of the slaying of the bull. The remaining small scenes depict Helios kneeling before Mithras; Mithras and Helios clasping hands over an altar; Mithras with drawn bow on a galloping horse; Mithras and Helios banqueting; Mithras and Helios mounting the chariot of the latter, which rises in full course above the ocean. XII. The central relief, the concluding scene in the legend of the bull. Mithras slays the sacred animal as a sacrifice to bring about terrestrial life. XIII. The scorpion, attacking the genitals of the bull, is sent by Ahriman from the lower world to defeat the purpose of the sacrifice; the dog, springing toward the wound in the bull's side, was venerated by the Persians, and was the companion of Mithras; the serpent is the symbol of the earth being made secund by drinking the blood of the sacrificed bull; the raven, toward which Mithras turns his face as if for direction, is the herald of the Sun-god, whose bust is near by, and who has ordered the sacrifice; various plants near the bull, and heads of wheat springing from his tail, symbolize the result of the sacrifice; the cypress is perhaps the tree of immortality. XIV. The Mithraic reliefs in their astrological aspect. Astrological interpretations had only a secondary importance, and were superficial. XV. The dadophoroi with Mithras represent one being in three aspects—the morning, noon, and evening sun, or the vernal, summer, and autumnal sun. XVI. The importance of Mithraic representations in the history of Roman art.

M. Cumont's comprehensive grasp of all subjects having to do with his field of investigation and the boldness and at the same time reasonableness of his combinations make his studies of the monuments fascinating. The second half of Volume I, however, will surpass the first in interest for the ordinary reader. In it the author gives the results of all his investigation, and it is to this part—the *Conclusions*—that the reader is to go for his orientation. They are divided into six chapters, of whose contents we give the following brief abstract.

I. *Les Origines.* Mithras was worshiped even before the separation of the Persian and Hindu stocks, both the Vedas and the Avesta representing him as the divinity of light, protector of truth, and antagonist of falsehood and error. In the Avesta, as

god of the light, he is ever watchful and all-seeing, and thus signifies the god of truth and loyalty. Light is accompanied by heat, and he becomes the god of vegetation and all increase. He is the enemy of darkness, and of all evil spirits, and the champion of heroes. But the Mithras of the *Vedas*, though less clear, is greater than the Mithras of the *Avesta*. At the rise of Zoroastrianism, he becomes one of the *yazatas*, created by Ahura-Mazda, and subject to him in the work of destroying demons and administering the world. Ahura-Mazda reigns in eternal brightness, Ahriman in eternal darkness, and Mithras occupies an intermediate position. He is the greatest of the *yazatas*, protects souls, accompanies them to paradise, and is thus a redeemer. But Semitic star-worship identified Ahura-Mazda with Bel, god of the Heavens, and Mithras with Shamash, god of the Sun. The influence of the indigenous religion of Armenia was strong. The modified Iranian religion became the religion of the Dia-dochoi, who wished to keep up the traditions of their Persian ancestors. Greek civilization in turn exerted a strong influence. Mithras was associated with Helios, and other members of the Persian pantheon were identified or associated with the Olympic deities. Greek art at Pergamum, about the second century B. C., reduced the Mithraic legend to concrete form in the typical relief, and thus aided to equip the cult for success in the western world, to which it was transmitted during the piratical disturbances of the first century B. C. The essential features of the old Iranian religion continued to be the same throughout its existence in the Occident, although the ritual changed from Persian to Greek, and from Greek to Latin.

II. *La Propagation dans l'Empire Romain.* With the exception of the port Peiraeus, Mithracism had not gained a footing in the Hellenic world even as late as during the Alexandrine period, and its existence even under the Empire was only sporadic, and confined to seaport towns, Memphis being the only exception known thus far. At Rome the Great Mother, Astarte, Bellona, and Dea Syria were all well known before the advent of Mithras, whose worship was first brought there by Pompey's captive Cilician pirates. It was not until toward the close of the first century A. D., however, that the cult began to claim attention. Statius had seen the typical Mithraic relief, and the first known dedicatory inscription was set up by a freedman of the Flavians. The cult existed in Germany in 148, and after the reign of Commodus proofs of its presence in all the provinces multiply. At the end of the second century there were at least four sanctuaries at Ostia. The army, consisting in large part of Asiatics, and quartered for long periods of time in the same frontier cities or regions, was the principal agent of distribution of the cult, the character of Mithras as the god of victory explaining in great part his popularity with the soldier. Mithraic monuments abound on the line of the ancient frontier—the Danube, the Rhine,

Britain, the line of the Sahara. In the more peaceful districts, the most active propagandists were the merchant class, a great part of whom were from the far East. In connection with these are to be considered the slaves, whose numbers may be estimated by the statement of Josephus that in his Judaean campaign alone Titus made 97,000 slaves. The incessant wars with the Parthians and neighboring nations kept Rome full of slaves of the Mithraic faith. Sold to western masters, they were distributed throughout the European and African provinces. Especially that part of them who were employed by the State in positions of trust, or who became freedmen and composed a large part of the machine of administration in the provinces, were of great importance in the spread of the cult. Finally, there was no doubt the usual missionary activity. Rome, where all these forces were present in abundance, naturally became a stronghold of the cult. Though its worshipers were for many years from the humblest classes, its rise was rapid, and at the close of the second century it had become a favorite with the aristocracy and the court; literature and philosophy began to take note of the dogmas and rites of the cult, and its doctrines and practices were held up in opposition to Christianity, the only dangerous rival it possessed.

III. *Mithra et le Pouvoir Impérial.* Owing to the relative lateness of its appearance at Rome, the cult of Mithras found the Emperors at least tolerant, if not favorable. Its growth in favor was such that by the close of the second century it received the active support of the reigning house. Commodus himself was initiated. The ground of this favor with the Emperors, which continued up to the fall of Paganism, is to be sought in the convenient support which the religion of Mithras afforded the principle of the divine right of monarchs which had been growing up at Rome under the influence of Eastern conditions. The Persian monarch was not considered as a god, like the Egyptian monarch. The Persian conception of the source of authority of the monarch was unique. He reigned by the grace of Ahura-Mazda, creator of Heaven and Earth, and this grace was manifested by a sort of supernatural fire, a celestial aureole, which illumined the legitimate sovereign, and was called the Hvarenô. This conception, influenced first by the idea that the crown was bestowed by Fate, and second by the Chaldean idea that destiny and the heavenly bodies were in intimate connection, resulted in the doctrine that the sun, the royal planet *par excellence*, *Sol Invictus*, was the dispenser of the Hvarenô. Mithras, identified with *Sol Invictus*, thus became the giver of authority and victory, and was worshiped as such by the imperial house. The doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Emperor and Mithras, growing out of this, was a second factor in raising the former to a plane above the human.

IV. *La Doctrine des Mystères.* Mithracism, in contradistinction to the old Graeco-Roman Paganism, possessed a real theology,

and a dogmatic system based on science. To give more than a rough outline of its doctrines, however, is impossible because of the insufficiency of documents. Mithras was not the only Persian god worshiped at Rome, nor was he the supreme member of the Persian pantheon there, although he was the most prominent. Infinite Time—Kronos, Saturn—was the head of the divine hierarchy; the Heavens and the Earth were his progeny, and they begat the Ocean, who formed with them a supreme triad equivalent to Jupiter, Juno, and Neptune. The Heavens and the Earth created the remaining members of a circle corresponding to the Olympic deities. Ahriman, begotten also by Infinite Time, was the Persian Pluto. The influence of the scientific theology of the Semitic race early resulted in the identification of the greater number of the Iranian divinities with the stars, and consequently in the Occident every Persian god possessed a double significance—astrological and natural, Semitic and Iranian. The cult at Rome preserved both these aspects, but the clergy reserved for the elect the deeper signification of the earlier Iranian theology, imparting to the multitude only the brilliant and easily understood symbolism of the Semitic theology. The planets, the constellations, and the signs of the zodiac found their place in the latter, and the conception of Fate as connected with them exercised a great influence over the public. Mithras, however, was by far the most important member of the pantheon, and his name was the center of a cycle of legends. From his character as god of Light, midway between the Heavens and the Earth, the centre of the choir of planets, he became known as the mediator between suffering humanity and the unknowable and inaccessible god of all being who reigned in the Ether. The Mithras legend has been lost, and can be reconstructed only from the scenes on the Mithraic reliefs (see pp. 445, 6 above). Mithras was born of a rock, the marvel being seen only by certain shepherds, who brought gifts and adored him. Chilled by the wind, the new-born god went to a fig-tree, partook of its fruit, and clothed himself in its leaves. He then undertook to vanquish the beings already in the world, and rendered subject to him first the Sun, with whom he concluded a treaty of friendship. The most astonishing of his adventures, however, was that with the sacred bull which had been created by Ahura-Mazda. The hero seized it by the horns and was borne headlong in the flight of the animal, which he finally subdued and dragged into a cavern. The bull escaped, but was overtaken, and by order of the Sun, who sent his messenger the raven, was sacrificed by Mithras, who performed the deed against his inclination. From the dying animal sprang the life of the earth, although Ahriman sent his emissaries to prevent it. The soul of the bull rose to the celestial spheres and became the guardian of herds and flocks under the name of Silvanus. Mithras, by his deed, was the creator of life. Meanwhile Ahriman sent a terrible

drought upon the land. Mithras defeated his purpose by discharging an arrow against a rock and thus miraculously drawing water from it. Next Ahriman sent a deluge, from which one man escaped in a boat with his cattle. Finally a fire desolated the earth, and only the creatures of Ahura-Mazda escaped. Mithras, his work accomplished, banqueted with the Sun for the last time, and was taken by him in his quadriga to the habitation of the immortals, whence he continued to protect the faithful. . . . Faithfulness involved striving for perfect purity, even by asceticism. Courage and watchfulness—in fact, the military virtues—were essential in the incessant combat between the forces of good and evil. Resistance to sensuality was one aspect of this struggle. Mithras was ever on the side of the faithful, who were certain to triumph in this world and the next. The worthy soul ascended to its former home in the skies by seven gates, or degrees, while the unworthy soul descended to the realms of Ahriman. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was accompanied by that of the resurrection of the flesh; the struggle between good and evil was one day to cease, and the divine bull was to appear on the earth, Mithras was to descend to call forth from their tombs all men and to separate the good from the bad. The bull was to be sacrificed by Mithras, who was to mingle its fat with consecrated wine and give to drink of it to the just, rendering them immortal, while the unjust, together with Ahriman and his spirits, were to be destroyed by a fire sent from heaven by Ahura-Mazda. The universe, renewed, was to enjoy eternal happiness. . . . The success of Mithracism was due to its morals, its promise of reward for good deeds in immortal life, its deification of all nature, its impressive rites, and its adaptability to both high and low classes of society.

V. *La Liturgie, le Clergé, et les Fidèles.* The liturgy of Mithracism has disappeared almost without leaving a trace. Jerome tells us that the mystic went through the seven degrees of *Corax*, *Cryphius*, *Miles*, *Leo*, *Perses*, *Heliodromus*, and *Pater*. The *Patres* became directors of the community, and their chief was called *Pater Patrum*. Members of the community were *Fratres*, and children could be admitted to the lower grades. Initiation was called *sacramentum*, an oath being exacted of the neophyte not to divulge what was revealed to him. Numerous ablutions were prescribed for the cleansing of his soul from the stains of sin, and he seems to have been branded on the forehead with a hot iron. After a considerable period of service he was privileged to participate in a ceremony comparable to the Communion of the Christians. Bread and water were administered, and the ceremony conferred not only mental and bodily vigor, but immortality. At the same time the mystic was subjected to strange trials in order to test his moral and physical courage. . . . Of the clergy little can be said. According to Tertullian, the high priest could marry only once, and there were *virgines et*

*continentes* as in the Christian Church. The ordinary priest was the intermediary between the faithful and their god, kept the sacred fire bright, administered the sacrament, celebrated the services, addressed prayers to the Sun thrice daily, and officiated in such special services as were added to the daily routine. Each day of the week, the appropriate planet was invoked at a certain place in the crypt, Sunday being especially sacred. The *Mithrakana*, famous in the East, were probably transferred to Dec. 25 in the Occident. . . . The Mithraic community was a corporate body as well as a religious association, having *decuriones*, *decemprimi*, *magistri*, *curatores*, *defensores*, and *patroni*. The cult was supported by voluntary contribution. From the size of the Mithraea, it seems certain that not more than one hundred members were enrolled in the territory of each sanctuary. The growth of a community to a number sufficiently exceeding that membership resulted in the formation of a new community. The sense of close fraternal relation, the attraction of titles and degrees, the constant hope of higher spiritual vision, the stimulation and consolation of the ceremonies, the sense of purification from sin by the ablutions and of the approach of a better life where the sufferings of this world were to be compensated, the veneration which was excited by the thought of the antiquity and the wisdom of this religion from the remote Orient—were some of the elements which caused the rapid multiplication of Mithracism in the West. One element of weakness, however, was the exclusion of women from the mysteries.

VI. *Mithra et les Religions de l'Empire*. Mithracism, on its arrival at Rome, was at its full maturity, if not beginning to decay. The only modifications it ever suffered were experienced in its youth in Asia. It was never essentially modified in the Occident. With the Egyptian religions it was at rivalry, if not at enmity. With Jupiter Dolichenus and the Great Mother it had close relations, its relations with the latter partaking of the nature of an alliance. As to the mutual influence of Mithracism and the other religions of Rome, the natural outcome of the long-continued attempt to recognize in all the gods of the Graeco-Roman system the forces of nature was the recognition of the Sun as the most important of all of them. Thus philosophy as well as politics placed Mithracism in the front rank. In the fourth century the followers of Mithras conceived the idea of uniting all divinities and all myths in a single new system. The struggle with Christianity was the more obstinate because of the resemblances between the two religions, which were so numerous and so complete as to be the subject of remark as early as the second century and were from that time on the cause of mutual recrimination. These resemblances, however, were in the main the result of common eastern origin. Only in art can it be definitely asserted that one borrowed from the other: Mithraic representations served as models which were often adopted or adapted by the Christians. The

beginning of the downfall of Mithracism dates from 275 A. D., when Dacia was lost to the Empire, and the invasions of the northern peoples resulted in the destruction of temples along a great stretch of frontier, the natural stronghold of the cult. The aggression of Christianity was also now more and more effective. However, the Emperors favored the cult which was the army's favorite until Constantine destroyed its hopes. The cult became tolerated instead of recognized. The reign of Julian and the usurpation of Eugenius renewed the hopes of its devotees, but the victory of Theodosius (394) may be considered the end of the cult's existence. It still survived in certain cantons of the Alps in the fifth century, and clung to life with more tenacity in its eastern home. Its legitimate successor was Manicheism, which offered a refuge to those mystics who had been shaken in faith but not converted by the polemics of the Church against their religion.

The strongest impression carried away from an examination of this work is that of the immense industry and thoroughness of the author. The reader feels that M. Cumont was dominated by a determination to put into his two volumes (*doctis, Iuppiter, et laboriosis*) absolutely nothing less than the whole thing. He tells us in his preface that he has spent more than ten years on the work, and only those who have engaged in work along similar lines realize how short a period even that is for a work of this magnitude, for the preparation of which a thorough familiarity with so many fields of knowledge is necessary. The only evidence which M. Cumont does not present is that which has not yet been brought to light by the spade of the excavator. Evidence of this kind will accumulate (indeed has already accumulated), but it is not likely to alter greatly the conclusions already drawn.

M. Cumont's thoroughness is equaled only by the brilliancy of his conclusions. In his interpretation of the monuments he has succeeded in many instances in reaching a plausible conclusion only by reason of his keen intuition. In his statement, in the preface, that his work is not a conclusion, but a prologue, and that its merit will consist in having formulated clearly many problems, he no doubt refers to those theories tentatively advanced by him which have not the weight of material evidence sufficient to satisfy the most conservative scholarship. One feels this to be true, not only in cases where the author avows that he does not consider his point proved, but in some cases where he feels more certain. But while the reconstruction of the Mithraic legend, for example (*Conclusions*, pp. 304-306), rests in some of its details upon very scant material evidence, M. Cumont's solutions of its problems in most instances bear conviction with them and are always plausible and brilliant, and the reader leaves the work with a feeling that its conclusions as a whole will remain unaltered as long as there is no radical difference in the sources from which they are drawn.

The most striking feature of M. Cumont's work is the parallelism which he shows to have existed between Mithracism and Christianity (*Conclusions*, pp. 339-343, and *Critique, passim*). The common oriental origin; the democracy, fraternity, and humility of the first communities; the identification of the object of adoration with Light and the Sun; the legends of the shepherds with their gifts and adoration, the flood, and the ark; the representation in art of the fiery chariot, the drawing of water from the rock, etc.; the presence in the ceremonial of bell and candle, holy water, and the communion; the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the flesh, the mediation of the Logos emanating from the Divine, the atoning sacrifice, the constant warfare between good and evil and the final triumph of the former—are some of the resemblances which he presents. They may be more apparent than real, but there is no escaping the conviction that they are as a whole grounded in a common eastern origin. M. Cumont, with just conservatism, does not presume to say that either religion borrowed from the other, except in the realm of art. The work is thus of great value to the student of Christian, as well as of classical antiquity.

But M. Cumont deserves above all the thanks of the student of history—especially of religious history. His work is one of those which are invaluable for establishing the point of view so much to be desired but so rarely possessed—of the history of religious development as a continuous whole, of the supplanting of worn-out Graeco-Roman religion by the more fervent, more moral, and higher eastern religions, and the yielding of these in turn to the still more perfect Oriental religion, Christianity. With all the multitudinous details of M. Cumont's work, with all the problems it raises, and with all the force with which it makes the reader see how much and yet how little we know, it leaves him with distinct impressions and the feeling that the sum total of knowledge has really been advanced not only in the details of fact but in the larger ideas which make for intelligent living.

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Der Hannibalweg neu untersucht und durch Zeichnungen und Tafeln erläutert von WILHELM OSIANDER, mit dreizehn Abbildungen und drei Karten. S. VIII-204. Berlin, 1900.

In reading Osiander's book one is impressed with the thoroughness with which he handles his subject. He has not only made an independent study of the original sources, but has made a careful study of the topography of the Alps, having himself travelled over all the various routes in question. The study of the books of the ancient historians has its value, but there is another book of equally great value, and that is the Book of

**Nature.** To the study of this book Osiander rightly attaches the greatest importance, adding that it is here that "he who seeks, finds." It is the same as saying that he who produces a work while centuries of monographs are looking down upon him from the shelves of his own library is at fault and his labor in vain, unless his conclusions harmonize with the statements of this book. The statements of the Book of Nature cannot be set aside. It holds the key to the situation. Osiander tells us in his preface that "Der Hannibalweg" is the final result of years of study and is the fruit of his tours in the Alps during the summer of 1899, when he travelled over the Great and Little St. Bernhard, the Great and Little Cenis, the Genève, and Lautaret, and made a careful study of the topographical difficulties which beset the problem. The result has been a book of unusual interest and of lasting value, and one which cannot be disregarded by any one writing upon this subject. The conclusions reached by Osiander will come as a shock to the one who has settled down into a comfortable position after reading Mommsen's and Ihne's masterly arguments for the Little St. Bernhard, though prepared in a way by Fuchs' (*Hannibals Alpenübergang*, Wien, 1897), Marindin's (*Class. Rev.* XIII (1899) p. 238 f.) and Cocchia's (*Il Libro XXI delle storie di Tito Livio*, p. 141-156) strong reasons for the Genève, and, if he is not thoroughly convinced after reading Osiander's work, will at least find it not so easy to be comfortable in his original position.<sup>1</sup>

At the present time it will be possible to give only a brief summary of some of the main results, referring the reader to the book itself for the *data* by which these are supported. As preliminary to the main part of the book the author devotes 23 pp. to the discussion of several important questions, as to the *sources*, where he decides for Polybius as the *auctor primarius*. He then takes under consideration the various statements of this writer regarding distances, marches, geographical details, dates, etc. On p. 19 Osiander gives *Hannibal's Itinerary*, according to the modern mode of reckoning: Sets out from New Carthage Apr. 21; from the Ebro May 30; from Emporion July 10; from the Pyrenees July 18; from the Rhone Aug. 15; and begins the 15 days' passage of the Alps Sept. 6, arriving in Italy Sept. 20. In the first Chapter (24-40) O. lays down twelve fundamental propositions as a basis for the discussion, the last being that the first people with whom Hannibal came into contact after crossing the Alps were the *Taurini*, a conclusion, which, he says, "stands fast" from Livy, 21, 38, 6 and follows indirectly from Polyb. III, 60, 2; 8 ff. The second chapter is naturally an important one,

<sup>1</sup> The drift of opinion in recent years seems to be away from the theory that Hannibal crossed *via* the Little St. Bernhard. For strong objections to this route, together with arguments favoring the Mont Genève, see especially: Woelflin, *Liv. XXI*, 5. Aufl. (1900), p. 128 f. and Fügner, *Liv. Röm. Gesch., Hilfsheft* (1901), p. 82 f.

as it is devoted to a criticism of the three opposing theories: A. Poeninus, requiring but two pages (42-44); B. Little St. Bernhard,<sup>1</sup> more (45-64); C. Genève, most (65-86), probably from its coming into such prominence in recent years. To these three routes he adds, as deserving honorable mention, Monte Viso (87-88). The third chapter is the main part of the work (107 pp.) and has four subdivisions; A. Introductory Marches (91-102) from the Ebro to the Rhone, via Nemausus to St. Esprit, where he crosses, then along the left bank of the river to Valentia, followed by a march along the valley of the Isara. B. Passage of the Alps (102-169) divided into 4 parts; I First 4 days; from beginning of the ascent to the rest near Garocelum; II From 5th to 8th day; from G. to Leucopetron; III 9th and 10th day; heights of Mt. Cenis reached and halt on the plain of Medulina. Here arises the cardinal question: from what Mt. can a view of the plains about the Po be obtained? Mt. Cenis alone stands the test. From the statements of both Livy and Polybius this is a requisite. Osiander quotes Marindin: "In fact, of all the competing passes, the Cenis is the only one from the top (O. reads 'op') of which any Italian view can be seen". O. corroborates this statement and emphasizes its importance. IV 11th to 15th day: Descent to Ocelum. Osiander claims that the slopes of the Cenis both for the ascent and for the descent best meet the requirements of the accounts of Livy and Polybius, substantiating his statement by quotations from other travellers who had made a study of the topography of the Alps. Then follows C. Refutation of the arguments usually brought against the Cenis theory (170-188), and D. Testimony of Antiquity for the Cenis Route. Osiander introduces his own investigation of this Route by recounting the advocates of this view from two Italian scholars of the 16th century who first brought it into prominence, Maccaneo and Giovio, and the Swedish, German and French scholars, to Robinson Ellis and Colonel Perrin.<sup>2</sup> The book concludes with "Nachträge" (203-204) made at Grenoble, August, 1900.

The writer feels that this brief summary has done but scant justice to the thoroughgoing investigation of Osiander, and the many important points that have been incidentally illuminated in the course of his work. The book as a whole deserves the highest praise.

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<sup>1</sup>With Osiander's view that the *Cremonis iugum* of Coelius—the Little St. Bernhard, compare Sanders (Die Quellen contamination im 21. u. 22. Buche des Livius, Berlin (1898, p. 101). S. maintains, however, that Han. crossed by this route.

<sup>2</sup>Osiander might well have cited also the eminent Russian scholar and military authority, N. S. Galitzin (cf. Allgem. Kriegsgesch. d. Alt. (1875), vol. III, p. 34).

## REPORTS.

### THE JOURNAL OF GERMANIC PHILOLOGY, Vol. III, 1900-1901.

Pp. 1-14. F. A. Blackburn (University of Chicago). The Husband's Message and Accompanying Riddles of the Exeter Book. Thorpe, in his edition of the Exeter Codex (pp. 470-75), printed four short pieces, the first three under the heading 'Riddles,' the fourth with the title 'Fragment.' Grein's arrangement of these in his *Bibliothek*, where he prints the first and second as riddles but joins the third and fourth, calling the whole *Botschaft des Gemahls an seine Frau*, has been hitherto generally accepted. Blackburn essays to prove that the second piece, like the third, is a part of a poem which is continued in what follows in the MS. He maintains his claim by a study of the subject-matter of the pieces in question, showing the appropriate and close connection in sense of the second part with the remainder. The whole reconstructed poem ought to be entitled 'A Love-letter' of a banished knight to his lady-love. Blackburn satisfactorily accounts for the presence of the first piece, which he also considers to be a riddle, and gives a reprint and connected translation of all four pieces, supplying by conjecture the illegible parts of the MS.

Pp. 14-24. Arthur C. L. Brown (Harvard University). The Source of a Guy of Warwick Chap-Book. The author shows by parallel columns and a general comparison that the best known of the Guy of Warwick chap-books, first printed in London, 1706, and reprinted frequently since, even to the present day, is a prose version of Samuel Rowland's Famous History of Guy Earle of Warwick, a popular epic of the 17th century, with three added episodes. Of these episodes two are popular tales, and the third, the 'Tale of the Dun Cow', is a local tradition handed down orally and found also in earlier Guy of Warwick chap-books.

Pp. 24-35. John McLaren McBryde (Hollins Institute, Va.) contributes the second part, Metre of the *Davideis*, of his Study of Cowley's *Davideis* begun in Vol. II, of the *Journ. of Ger. Phil.* He discusses Cowley's use of the hemistich, which was founded upon a doubtful conception of Virgil's metre and the use of which has persisted down to our day. In his discussion of the triplet, which Cowley used only in his *Anacreontics*, McBryde gives some interesting new information concerning the use of this poetical device in Middle English. He further treats of the poet's use of the alexandrine, of feminine rhymes, and of run-on lines and run-on couplets with tables of percentages, showing that Cowley's verse; as he grows older and more skilled, tends to become more 'correct'.

Pp. 35-92 and 431-92. Philip S. Allen (University of Chicago). Wilhelm Müller and the German Volkslied II and III. In a previous article Allen had defined Volkslied, had shown how every poet at the beginning of the 19th century was permeated with its spirit, and especially how Müller had never departed from this spirit in any of his songs. This is so true, that many of the poet's songs have since become Volkslieder. In the first part of his second contribution the author takes up Nature-Sense in the Volkslied and Müller. Uhland was the first to lay stress upon the fact that the lively sense for surrounding and sympathizing nature, which is evident in the Volkslied, lies at its very roots. In this feature Müller follows the Volkslied very closely. Allen gives a detailed comparison of analogies between the poet and the Volkslied in their sense for nature. Under various subheadings (flowers, trees, birds, animals, water, sun, moon and stars, natural phenomena) the author shows by many examples Müller's agreement with and divergence from popular poetry. He establishes clearly that, on the whole, the poet is on the same level with the Volkslied as regards appreciation of nature, though he shows a tendency towards sentimentality and romanticism, and frequently goes far beyond the Volkslied in detailed parallelism as well as in his fondness for the sea and the forest. Müller essentially differs from the Volkslied only in his didactic poems.

In the chapter, Reminiscences of the Volkslied in Müller, Allen traces the development of Müller's poetic technique from its first shallow imitation of the Volkslied to its later mastery of the principles of art. Numerous parallelisms make clear the dependence of the poet upon his models. The foreign songs show the influences only indirectly and to a limited extent. The anacreontics have lost the sturdiness and directness of the Volkslied, and are weak and trivial. The drinking songs, though popular in metre, treatment and language, are without direct correspondence in the Volkslied.

In the third main division of this study, Allen presents an exhaustive treatment of the Diction of the Volkslied and of Müller. In sub-paragraphs the general characteristics of the Volkslied style (terseness, vagueness, mention of authorship), the figures of rhetoric (metaphor and simile, personification and apostrophe), the figures of syntax (repetition in its varying forms of epizeuxis, epibole, epistrophe, refrain, epanadiplosis, inverted and climactic repetition, parallelism, polysyndeton), popular speech-words (use of diminutive, noun, adjective, adverb, verb), syntax (position of words in the sentence, tautology, omission of the article and of the personal pronoun, use of the impersonal *es*) are analyzed, defined and traced in the Volkslied and paralleled in complete lists from Müller's poems. The results prove, as conclusively as is possible by 'mechanical' and 'tangible' examples, Allen's claim of Müller's complete dependence upon the Volkslied. In conclusion some scattering observations are appended and the author pleads warmly for a fairer estimate of Müller as a poet and for a

reintroduction of his poetry to Germany, which can be done only by an adequate edition of his verse.

Pp. 92-100. E. W. Fay (Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Va.). The Primitive Aryan Name of the Tongue. The author (in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, May, 1894) had deduced 'all the Protean forms of the word for the tongue from a primitive root \**g̥li̥gh*- with alternative forms \**li̥gh*- and \**g̥i̥gh*- due to sentence euphony.' Collitz the same year claimed as the common base for 'tongue' \**dlen̥gh*- with alternatives \**len̥gh*- and *dēn̥gh*- . Fay in this article makes a restatement, with some modifications, of his theory, together with a table of words used for comparison and the reasons for his views.

Pp. 127-38. Oliver Farrar Emerson (Western Reserve University). Transverse Alliteration in Teutonic Poetry. After a résumé of the previous discussions of the subject, the article inquires into the mathematical method of chances which Frucht (*Metrisches und Sprachliches zu Cynewulfs Elene, Juliana und Crist*, 1887) had employed to substantiate his theory, that transverse alliteration is due to chance and not design. Emerson takes exception to the different proportions of chance derived by Frucht and, after showing the errors in the latter's calculations, reaches the conclusion, that 'the mathematical doctrine of probabilities is absolutely inapplicable to the problem in hand' and the proof of any theory regarding transverse alliteration 'must not rely on the exactness of mathematical science, but on the less conclusive, psychological argument from the numerous examples.'

Pp. 138-43. Frederic Ives Carpenter (University of Chicago). Notes on the Anonymous 'Richard II'. Notes to the text of the play published in the current volume of the *Jahrbuch der Deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*.

Pp. 143-238. Herbert Z. Kip (Stanford University, Cal.). Zur Geschichte der Steigerungs adverbien in der Deutschen Geistlichen Dichtung des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts.

This study gives an exhaustive treatment, with exemplifications and general discussion of form and origin, of the various intensifying adverbs during the transition period from Old to Middle High German. The article is supplemented by a bibliography and index.

Pp. 238-48. W. Kurrelmeyer (Johns Hopkins University). The Genealogy of the Pre-Lutheran Bibles. Of the fourteen editions of the German bible antedating that of Luther, exclusive of the three Low German editions, the genealogy of the first five has been determined with some degree of certainty. The object of this article is to set forth the exact position of the later editions by a comparison of the errors and changes peculiar to the different editions. The comparisons and the relation between the editions are shown in clear tabulations.

Pp. 277-335. Ora P. Seward (University of Utah). The Strengthened Negative in Middle High German. The purpose of Seward's dissertation is to test the conclusions of I. V. Zingerle's article (published in the *S. B. Wien*, XXXIX, 417-477, 1862) on the strengthened negative by a study of the Middle High German texts since published. Upon the basis of these investigations the author objects to certain of Zingerle's statements in regard to (1) the decrease in the frequency of these negatives after the first half of the 13th century, and (2) the frequency of use in the different dialects and also in regard to some minor points. The one general conclusion to be drawn is that 'between 1200 and 1500 A. D. the frequency of occurrence of the strengthened negative is not affected by date or locality, but is affected somewhat by the character of the composition and more yet by the preference of the individual author.' Insufficient data in Old French and Middle English do not permit of comparison of their usage with that in Middle High German. Nor can satisfactory conclusions be drawn as to whether the strengthened negative is of popular origin and character, or whether it is due to French influence. The summaries, with citations of examples, are arranged according to periods, authors, literary character of the different works and geographical distribution. There are also lists of the usage in Middle Low German authors and in Old High German, and an appendix including a number of implied negatives and of those strengthened by specifying things not of small size or value. The dissertation contains the usual bibliography and a general index.

Pp. 335-42. G. L. Kittredge (Harvard University). The 'Misogonus' and Laurence Johnson. In a letter to *The Nation*, March 16, 1899, Kittredge had suggested, and given reasons in support of his view, that the author of the 'Misogonus,' the recently published English university comedy, was Laurence Johnson who had concealed his identity under the name Laurentius Bariona in the MS of the play. Johnson, after graduating from Oxford, had entered the Romish church and was hanged for treason in 1582. This same name appears as the name of the author of a 'Cometographia, London, 1578,' an account of the comet of 1577. Since the letter was written Kittredge has seen a copy of the 'Cometographia' and in this article expresses the positive opinion that Laurence Johnson, the Martyr, was not the *Laurentius Bariona* of the *Misogonus* MS. *Laurentius Bariona* of the MS is, however, the same as the author of the 'Cometographia' and a graduate of Cambridge. This identity does not settle the question of the authorship of the *Misogonus*, though Kittredge thinks there is no reason, not even of chronology, which opposes the ascription of the comedy to Laurence Johnson the author of the 'Cometographia.'

Pp. 342-51. William Dinsmore Briggs in an article, King Arthur and King Cornwall, connects this ballad (No. 30 in

Child's collection) with the French romance, *Le Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*. He reconstructs the outline of the fragmentary ballad, recalls the views of Gaston Paris, opposing the relation of the ballad and the romance, and thereupon develops his own views, maintaining a close connection between the two.

Pp. 352-54. George Hempl (University of Michigan) contributes in the article on *Influence of Vowel Quantity* some cases in Latin (*fōtus*) *fōveo*, *mōtus* (*mōveo*, etc.) where 'a short vowel, by analogy, so affects the pronunciation of an associated form, that there results a vowel of similar quantity but long'.

Pp. 354-62. Gustaf E. Karsten (University of Indiana) reprints *The Ballad of the Cruel Moor*, one of the Sources of 'Titus Andronicus,' which is taken from *A Collection of Old Ballads*, London, 1726, and adds some information concerning this collection of ballads, as it is not easily accessible.

Pp. 393-415. A. S. Jack (Lake Forest, Ill.), in *The Autobiographical Elements in Piers the Plowman*, maintains the thesis that the poem, as far as it concerns the outer life of the author, is not autobiographical, though it has autobiographical elements containing the opinions, hopes, fears and spiritual history of the poet. Jack collects the previous views concerning the author of the allegory and states the course of his investigation, which takes up 'first the statements of time, second the dreams, third the wanderings, fourth the account of the dreamer's social life and occupation, and fifth minor personal details'. The discussion of the first point leads to the result that 'these figures (of time) professedly relating to the author should be understood as the other passages not referring to William, as *definite alliterative expressions for indefinitely long periods of time*'. Hence we have no basis for certainty, nor even for probability as to the date of the poet's birth, nor age at time of writing any of the texts, nor length of wandering'. The dreams are only a literary device and universally so considered by students of the poem. As to the wanderings the author sums up his discussion as follows: "Since (1) to have the hero wander about was in our poet's age, a common literary device, since (2) the incidents mentioned in connection with the wandering are not real incidents; since (3) to think of the poet's leading a 'vagabond' life is to think of him as doing that which he from beginning to end condemns, and finally since (4) the imaginative and allegorical interpretation is in harmony with the spirit of the whole poem and obviates many difficulties, the imaginative interpretation of the wandering is the true one." The account of the dreamer's social life and occupation is also best explained in the same way as the account of his wanderings, allegorically. The remaining allusions are only of minor importance and may be true or not, though the author mentions a number of objections to their literal interpretation. However there are valuable hints between the lines for drawing a rough sketch of the

poet's life. He was a student, probably in the church as a priest, who led a quiet, meditative life, possibly in the country, away from the influences that helped to make Chaucer. He probably had an acquaintance with London; of more than that we cannot be sure. He sympathized with the common people. The fear of persecution or a dislike of publicity probably influenced him to remain silent and unknown. "Farther than this in sketching Langland's life, if such were his name, we cannot safely go."

Pp. 415-31. Neil C. Brooks (University of Illinois). The Lamentations of Mary in the Frankfurt Group of Passion Plays. This article is a study of the scenes at the crucifixion and entombment, where Mary laments the fate of Christ, occurring in five passion plays, with an attempt to show the relations between these plays and other similar plays.

Pp. 492. F. G. G. Schmidt (University of Oregon) contributes a Bursenknechtlied of eight lines, found in a 15th century MS in the library at Maihingen, Bavaria.

Pp. 493-97. Kuno Francke (Harvard University). A Romantic Element in the Prelude to Goethe's Faust. In Novalis' *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais*, written in 1797-98, though not published until 1802, there are some passages, which Francke here cites, bearing a striking similarity to the glorification of poetry in the Prelude to Goethe's Faust I. 138 ff. and anticipating the chief elements of Goethe's effusion. Francke thinks that Goethe knew Novalis' work in MS form and reproduced its sentiments in the Prelude.

Pp. 497-501. Frederick Klaeber (University of Minnesota) suggests as An Emendation in the Old English Version of Bede IV. 24, the separation of *meaht* into *mē aht*, making the passage read *þū mē aht singan*, the correct and required translation of the *Latin mihi cantare habes*.

A. S. Cook (Yale University) also contributes an appreciative In Memoriam to Professor Cosijn of Leyden, who died Aug. 26, 1899.

The third volume of the Journal contains the usual book-reviews covering some twenty-six different works in the various domains of Germanic philology.

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Beiträge zur Assyriologie, herausgegeben von FRIEDRICH DELITZSCH und PAUL HAUPT. Vierter Band, Heft 3 (pp. 279-422). Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901.<sup>1</sup>

The third Heft of the fourth volume of the Beiträge contains five articles, of which two are by J. A. Knudtzon on the El Amarna tablets (pp. 279-337 and 410-17).

<sup>1</sup> For Band IV, Heft 2, see Prince, A. J. P. XXI, pp. 103-6.

The author divides his first treatise into nine sections, designated by the letters of the alphabet. He states at the outset that he has been obliged to deviate sharply from his former paper in BA. IV, Heft 1, pp. 101-54,<sup>1</sup> and he corrects the present article again, with respect to a number of important points, in his second paper on the same subject in this third Heft (pp. 410-17). The most striking sections of Knudtzon's work are: A. On Sayce's supposed "Ionian" name (pp. 280-88); B. The arrangement of Rib-Addi's letters and of those of several other periods (pp. 288-327); G. On tablets in Egyptian from Egypt (pp. 327-30); H. Tablets from the land of the *Hatti* (pp. 330-34).

In the year 1891 Sayce reported in the Academy, Vol. XL, p. 341, that he had found in one of the El Amarna tablets "the mention of an 'Ionian' who was connected in some way with the country of Tyre." In order to correct Sayce's version *amil Yivâna* 'Ionian,' which he reads as one word from *Yi-i-ma a-na*, Knudtzon cites and discusses four passages in which this combination occurs. He shows quite conclusively that in the phrase *na-ad-nu . . . u amelât Yi-i-ma a-na a-na Suri ina lu-qi*, *Yi-i-ma* is a distinct word from the preposition *ana*, which, as is frequently the case in the El Amarna letters, is written *twice*. He translates then:—"they gave . . . and the *Yi-i-ma* people to the land of *Suri* as a surety." He considers that *Yi-i-ma* cannot be a proper name, but is probably to be read as *Yi-i-wa* (*m=w*), i. e. as an Egyptian plural form, denoting some sort of official. Sayce's idea that this is an allusion to an 'Ionian' cannot stand. The word *Yi-i-wa* is found also in the form *Yi-u* as subject and as *Yi-a*, *Yi-i-ma*, *Yi-e-ma* as object. Knudtzon is inclined to connect this word tentatively with Eg. *w* 'w 'officer,' reading the sign *pi*, not as *yi*, but as *wi*; *wi-i-ma*. This would make the word identical with the form *u-i-u* = Eg. *w* 'w 'officer,' which has long ago been known from the Jerusalem letters.

Knudtzon's arrangement of the letters of Rib-Addi (B.) is a valuable chronological study. In establishing the order of the letters, the author took into consideration not only the text and the historical situation, but also the appearance of the clay of the individual tablets. I will call attention merely to the following forms: *irtixat* (p. 295; fem. 3 p. perm. I: of *irixû*) 'it remained.' This form of *rixû* occurs also IVR. 54, 14 a:—*murqu têxu* (*dilib*)*tum* *êlišu irtexû* 'sickness, plague, affliction rest upon him.' The word *xamûdu* 'something desirable' (p. 328) is clearly cognate with Heb. *חַמְדָה*. On p. 319, the intransitive form *id-dul* from *נֶל* 'close, shut' is unusual in this stem. This is a present tense made like *eppuš*, *errub*. The pret. of *êdêlu* is *êdil*.

Ernest Lindl follows Knudtzon's first article with a treatise on the list of dates of the first Babylonian dynasty with four plates and additional notes (pp. 338-402). The period of the so-called

<sup>1</sup>See Prince, A. J. P. XX, p. 107.

first dynasty of Babylon has long been known to us through accounts dating from the reigns of the ancient kings. We may now, moreover, get an excellent idea of the civilization of this interesting epoch from newly found records which are highly instructive for the study of both the public and private life of these ancient times. The most important sources for the history of the first dynasty are undoubtedly the royal inscriptions of Hammurabi and Samsuiluna.<sup>1</sup> Next to them should be classed the contract literature belonging to this epoch which, from the days of Loftus (1864) until the present time, has been constantly growing. In this article, which is part of Lindl's Dissertation for the Doctorate at Munich, the author has begun his investigations in this mass of literature which bears so directly on the ancient civilization. He pays especial attention in his study to the following four points:—1) The contents of the contracts. 2) The names of the witnesses, or that of the judge, in whose presence the contract was executed. 3) The date, day, month and year of the individual record. 4) The so-called form of oath.

The author's object is to confirm and fill out when necessary the data of the valuable "London List" (in Sumerian) which, in so far as it has come down to us un mutilated, gives in exact chronological order the dates of the kings of the first Babylonian dynasty from Sumuabu to Samsuiluna (published by Pinches, *Cuneiform Texts*, VI, pp. 9-10). This list makes it possible for us to register the contracts themselves within a period of not less than 183 years. These private documents are moreover of great chronological value, in that they do not merely give the year number of the king's reign in which they were executed, but, following an unusual system, they mention the chief occurrence of the year immediately preceding their own year. The most striking feature of Lindl's work is his publication of plates and texts of a hitherto unnoticed Hammurabi inscription (Sumerian) which is part of Scheil's excavations in Sippar-Abu-Habba in 1893. Lindl found these in the Museum at Constantinople, where he copied them with the permission of the Librarian (p. 342). He follows the publication of this text with a complete transliteration and translation with commentary of the "London List," which he has filled out by means of the Constantinople fragment and of the Contracts (pp. 343-88), of which he gives (pp. 389-90) a complete list.

Friedrich Delitzsch follows this treatise with a number of "marginal remarks" on Lindl's work (pp. 403-9). It is interesting to notice that Delitzsch calls attention (p. 409) to Hommel's unfortunate identification of Marduk with Uru-ki the moon-god (*Gesch.* p. 416) which has attracted the notice of others who have used Hommel's extensive history.

The Heft ends with a few entertaining pages by Bruno

<sup>1</sup>Jensen and Winckler, KB. III, i, pp. 106-27; 130-33.

Meissner on falconry among the Babylonians and Assyrians (pp. 418-22), wherein he shows that the *ars venandi cum avibus* can be followed back to a much more ancient period than has hitherto been thought. According to certain texts published by Pinches and Delitzsch, the Assyrians had a bird called *surdū*, clearly a species of falcon, which hunted game for its (royal) master. A synonym is given IIR 37, 15a; 64a *kaslu*, besides which there are other names. Meissner believes that *iççur xurri* = *buçu* was also a term for falcon, possibly cognate with Ar. *tēr el ḥurr*, which may itself be a literal translation of *iççur xurri*. The texts quoted by Meissner are all from the Aššurbānīpal library and date from the middle of the seventh century B. C. It is highly probable, however, that falconry in Mesopotamia is much older than this date. Meissner does not insist that this form of venery had its origin in Mesopotamia. Persians and Koords still practice it, and it is quite possible that the early Babylonians and Assyrians first learned it from the mountaineers who were their eastern neighbours. It is still followed in Iraq, especially in the neighbourhood of Bagdad, where the writer of this report has frequently heard it described, although he has never had the good fortune to see a hunt with falcons.

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RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FÜR PHILOLOGIE, Vol. LVI, parts 3, 4.

Pp. 321-32. F. Buecheler. Coniectanea. Notes on Plutarch, Quaest. Conviv. VIII 6; on certain passages in the Latin grammarians Martyrius and Caper; on some of the papyri recently published by Messrs. Hunt, Grenfell and Hogarth, etc.

Pp. 333-9. R. Kunze. Zu griechischen Geographen. Notes on Strabo, XV p. 730 Cas. (read *καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας βασιλεύσας*); XVI p. 770; III p. 167; VII p. 315; XVI p. 779; XVII p. 835; Eustathius, p. 395, 21 M.; p. 315, 44; p. 273, 34; p. 322, 34.

Pp. 340-68. R. Helm. Vindiciae Ovidianaæ. Textual notes on various passages in the Metamorphoses: IV 446, 766; VII 186-7, 762; VIII 87; XII 230 sqq., 434-9; XIII 399-400, 846-7; III 249 sqq., 400-1; VI 294; XI 293; XIII 332-3, 404-11, 457-63; XIV 385, 739; XV 49 sqq., 426-30.

Pp. 369-91. F. Reuss. Zu Arrian's *περίπλος Πόντου Εὐξείνου*. The Periplus is probably the genuine work of Arrian, not "a forgery composed in the late Byzantine period" (see C. G. Brandis, Rh. Mus. LI, pp. 109-26).

Pp. 392-403. R. Wünsch. Zu Ovids Fasten Buch I und II. Textual notes on F. I 6, 26, 161, 652, 705-8, 701-2; II 23, 575. The passage in F. I 479-96, may be regarded as a type of the rhetorical "consolatio."

Pp. 404-15. K. Tittel. Heron und seine Fachgenossen. 1) Herons Mechanik und Poseidonios. 2) Heron und Geminos. 3) Heron und Philon.

Pp. 416-22. H. Dessauer. De codice rescripto Parisino 7900 A.

Pp. 423-8. M. Fränkel. Bronzeinschrift aus Ligurio. Notes on an inscribed bronze pedestal in the Berlin Museum.

Pp. 429-42. A. Klotz. Das Geschichtswerk des älteren Seneca. The only evidence for the existence of this work is a short notice in cod. rescr. Vatic. Palat. 24.

Pp. 443-61. J. Steup. Thukydides, Antiochos und die angebliche Biographie des Hermokrates.

Pp. 462-72. M. Manitius. Zu den Scholien zu Germanici Aratea.

Miscellen.—Pp. 473-4. E. Norden. Das Alter des Codex Romanus Vergils. This MS contains the spurious line, Aen. VI 242, which seems to be derived from Priscian, Perieg. 1056. It was probably written about the first half of the sixth century.—

Pp. 474-5. O. Hoffmann. *Προμηστίνος*. This Homeric word is perhaps connected with the verb *προμνάομαι*. It may be due to an ancient custom according to which several women were brought before a woer, "one after another".—Pp. 475-7. F. Solmsen. *"Ονουμα κὴ ἐπιπατρόφιον.*—Pp. 477-80. O. Seeck. Zur Lex Manciana.

Pp. 481-96. H. Usener. Zu den Sintfluthsagen. Supplementary notes to the author's recent book on this subject.

Pp. 497-507. F. Solmsen. Zwei Nominalbildungen auf -μα (the Argolic *γράσμα*, for *γράμμα*, and the Cretan *ψάφιμμα*, for *ψήφισμα*).

Pp. 508-16. F. Rühl. Zu Tacitus. The passage at the end of the second book of the Annals where Tacitus says of Arminius, "caniturque adhuc barbaras apud gentes," may be a reminiscence of the passage of the Cyropaedia, I 2, 1, where Xenophon says of Cyrus, *Ἄδεται ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων*. The expression in the twenty-third chapter of the Germania, "in quandam similitudinem vini corruptus," may be compared with Pliny, N. H. XIX 42, 145, "non inficeto Ti. Caesaris dicto herbam ibi quandam nasci simillimam asparago." [Compare also Tacitus, Ann. III 33, 2, "inesserunt mulierum comitatui quae . . . Romanum agmen ad similitudinem barbari incessus convertant."]

Pp. 517-42. Ad. Ausfeld. Das angebliche Testament Alexanders des Grossen.

Pp. 543-62. C. Schubert. Die Porusschlacht.

Pp. 563-70. A. Breysig. Zu Avienus (continued from Vol. LV, p. 562).

Pp. 571-86. A. Wilhelm. Nochmals die Bundesurkunde aus Argos.

Pp. 587-95. P. Deiters. Zu Corp. inscr. Graec. II 2555.

Pp. 596-606. L. Gurlitt. Textkritisches zu Ciceros Epistulae ad Quint. fratr. Notes on II 7 (9) 1 (for *de non curantia* read *de nostra curatione*); II 10 (12) 1 and 5; III 1, 23; II 3, 2 (for *peregerat sed* read *perseverasset*); II 3, 5; II 6 (8) 1.

Pp. 607-26. W. Crönert. Neues über Epikur und einige herkulaneische Rollen.

Miscellen.—Pp. 627-31. H. Stein. 'Ηροδότου Θουρίου? The writer rejects the suggestion that Herodotus began his history with the words 'Ηροδότου Θουρίου (not 'Αλικαρνησσέος) ιστορίης ἀπόδεξις ηδε.—Pp. 631-4. O. Seeck. Das Geburtsjahr des Marcus Brutus. According to Cicero (Brut. 94, 324 and 64, 229) Brutus was born about the year 85; according to Velleius (II 72, 1), in the year 78 or, at the earliest, in the last days of 79. This later date is supported by the statements of Appian (Bell. Civ. II 112) and Plutarch (Brut. 5), that Brutus was believed to be the son of Cicero.—Pp. 634-5. F. Rühl. Mummius Achaicus und die Lex Varia.—Pp. 635-6. M. Ihm. Bentley's Noten zu Suetons Schrift de grammaticis et rhetoribus.—Pp. 636-8. F. Sommer. Zum Nom. sg. *sēmifer* und *vir*.—Pp. 638-9. F. Skutsch. Etruskische Monatsnamen und Zahlwörter.—Pp. 639-40. A. Klotz. Zu den ABC-Denkmalern.—P. 640. H. Usener. Zur Vasengeschichte

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WILFRED P. MUSTARD.

## BRIEF MENTION.

One is curious to know what M. VICTOR TERRET of the Petit Séminaire d' Autun, will have to say about ROBERT's *Studien zur Ilias* (Weidmann). The spectre which he had exorcised in his big book on Homer (A. J. P. XX 87) walks the earth again, and, like the Empusa in the Frogs, it has for the nonce assumed a most attractive shape, so that the literary critic of to-day may well exclaim with the dramatic critic of Aristophanes' time, *φέρ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἵω*. To me at least, the charm is undeniable, and I hate to think that before this preliminary notice can be printed, Homerists of high and low degree will have poured forth their columns in review of these studies, that the general result will be ferociously assailed and the detail work torn into shreds. But at the time of the present writing the hour has not yet come, and even when it does, I shall not cease to be grateful to the distinguished author of *Bild und Lied* for the rare enjoyment afforded by the first reading of his new work, and for the fresh life he has brought into the inevitable Homeric Question by his fascinating combination of antiquarian and linguistic evidence. Of course, in the present specialization of knowledge, no one scholar could command every detail in both these spheres; and the title-page bears besides the name of CARL ROBERT that of his *τηλεκλειτός ἐπίκουρος*, FRIEDRICH BECHTEL, the upholder of Fick's famous thesis, which in this volume comes to honor again.

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The modern study of Homer is prefigured in the Shield of Achilles. The city in peace has for its counterpart the city in war, and he who wishes to live in the one, must nerve himself to fight for the other. No one, nowadays, is supposed to enjoy Homer unless he is willing to take up arms for some theory, and the first note of these studies is at once a challenge and a tribute to the shade of Reichen, whose sudden death has removed him from the lists as a champion of the Mycenaean theory. *Si Reichenius non lyrasset, Robertus non saltasset*; and our author frankly acknowledges that it is the keen vision with which Reichen saw and the cogent argument with which he demonstrated the traces of Mycenaean culture in the Homeric poems that have made these *Studien zur Ilias* possible. 'No one had seen so much, none had proved so much.' 'But,' continues ROBERT, 'no one had taken such liberties with the meaning of Greek words'—those handmaids of all argument—'no one had so proudly ignored the gradual growth of the Epos.' 'To him, Iliad and Odyssey represented a thoroughly homogeneous culture,

the Mycenaean, with the bare reservation that about the year 700 an interpolator had introduced the metallic corselet in some passages of the *Iliad*, which by that time had been substantially finished.' This, ROBERT contends, is too simple to be true, and in these matters he undertakes to follow the stratification of the *Iliad*, with the difference in armour to guide him in his research.

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To one who has lived, as I have, from the age of the flint musket to that of the magazine rifle, who has witnessed the motley array of a Southern Home Guard, who has written a poem on the 'Southern Pike' with which the Confederates for a few brief weeks actually essayed to imitate John Brown; to one who has had his thigh-bone broken by a Spencer bullet, and has read of assegais and machetes and bolos in recent warfare, as well as of Martini-Henrys and Krag-Jörgensens, to such an one, the contemporaneous use of arms that belong to successive or widely separated epochs of culture would not be a serious shock. But fortunately, not being an editor of Homer, I am not compelled to take up a position on any phase of the Homeric Question, unlike Mr. MONRO, who, evidently much against his will, has recently been compelled by his eminence as an Homeric scholar to commit himself to a variety of conclusions. And so, for the remnant of my days, I may be allowed to watch from the shore the waves of Homeric controversy, and delight in the smoothness of the beach when the angry waters recede. The wrecks concern me little.

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In long stretches of the *Iliad*, says ROBERT, the bronze armour, which he calls for brevity's sake, Ionian, is not interpolated but original. Then there is a droll mingling of Mycenaean and Ionian armour, and then again we encounter in yet other passages strange weapons that are neither Mycenaean nor Ionian. Now this variety is not surprising. On the contrary, it corresponds to the evolution of the Epos and shows that there were not only poets who tried to smuggle into the older parts of the *Iliad* the armour of their own time, but also those who played the antiquarian and made the heroes who appeared in their additaments fight with Brummagem Mycenaean weapons. Now if we find further that these divergencies coincide with the linguistic and aesthetic criteria already at our command, we may hope to trace the stratification of the great poem with more confidence than heretofore.

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The antiquarian part is attacked first with the whole armour of the Homeric heroes, shield and corselet, belt and tunic and helmet, the metallic greaves which the Mycenaean warrior did not wear and the leatheren gamashes which he did. We follow

the warrior as he dons his armour, for the sequence has been deemed important since the time of Aristarchos, and we examine the wounds with the scrupulous care of the modern coroner when he seeks to determine the calibre of the weapon that wrought the mischief. This antiquarian chapter which occupies only some seventy pages, is followed by an analysis of the Iliad of nearly 200 pages, and this by a reconstruction of the 'Urilias' in Aeolic dialect and the 'Urilias' by a second, third and fourth Iliad in Ionic, if we dare call anything Ionic.

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The 'Urilias,' as reconstructed, is a poem of moderate compass, 2146 verses, less than a seventh of the Iliad, as we have it, and the headings will indicate its make-up.  $\Delta$  yields a large proportion of the material, and no less than 372 verses out of 611 are saved alive,—the Curse of Chryses, the Prophecy of Kalchas, the Quarrel of the Kings, the Epiphany of Athena, Nestor's Attempt at Reconciliation, the Taking away of Breseis (Briseis), the Prayer of Thetis. Of  $\mathbf{B}$  we have the Dream of Agamemnon and the Marshalling of the Two Hosts. The Beginning of the Battle starts from  $\Delta$  457 and, as from a springboard, leaps into  $\mathbf{H}$  219, and after a run of some seventy verses, the First Duel of Aias with Hektor, jumps back to  $\Delta$  517. Of  $\mathbf{E}$  we have the description of the Prowess of Aineias. Of  $\mathbf{z}$ , which is one of the shorter books of the Iliad as  $\zeta$  is the shortest of the Odyssey, a large part is left, another Oncoming of Aias, the son of Telamon, the First Success of the Achaians, the Counsel of Helenos, and the Interview of Hektor with Helen and Paris. The Appearance of Paris on the Field is taken from  $\mathbf{H}$  and then we pass to  $\mathbf{N}$  and  $\mathbf{o}$  and back to  $\Delta$ , which gets a large slice. The Trojans flee, Agamemnon is wounded. Hektor presses forward, Odysseus is wounded, Aias retreats.  $\Theta$  comes next with the intercalation of three lines from  $\mathbf{I}$  and out of the troubled waters of the much abused Eighth Book is drawn the Council of the Trojans followed by the Bivouac.  $\mathbf{I}$ ,  $\mathbf{z}$ , and  $\mathbf{N}$ , furnish forth the Council of the Achaians,  $\mathbf{N}$  the Battle of the Ships,  $\mathbf{z}$  the wounding of Hektor by Aias, and  $\mathbf{N}$  yields further the Death of Peisandros at the hands of Menelaos. From  $\mathbf{o}$  comes the Mission of Iris and the Withdrawal of Poseidon from the Battlefield. Then  $\mathbf{N}$  makes another contribution to the fighting in which Deiphobos has his innings, and  $\mathbf{o}$  tells the Story of the Assault upon the Ships and prepares for the Coming of Patroklos. With the Coming of Patroklos in  $\mathbf{II}$  we take breath, the Aeolic bard has his true hero, and the rest of the poem is virtually a Patrokleia, of which I will not recount the stages. The Vengeance occupies but a brief space. Some forty verses from  $\mathbf{y}$  and four from  $\mathbf{x}$  prepare for the fight between Achilles and Hektor and prepare for the Fall of Hektor.

In this 'Urilias,' this Aeolic lay, Achilles and Patroklos, the *āīras* and the *eiōpνήλas*, dominate the scene, hold hands, as it were, across the stage. The *Ilias* has become an *Achilleīs* and not a pure *Achilleīs*; it is largely a *Patrokleia*. And what more Aeolic than this? One remembers the echoes in one of Theokritos' Aeolic odes—the famous *ἀλλάλοισι πελώμεθ' Ἀχιλλέιοι φίλοι*; one remembers how prominent Patroklos is made in two of Pindar's Lokrian odes, O 9, 76 and 10, 21, and only there. But according to the 'Urilias,' Patroklos was no Opuntian but a Myrmidon. And ROBERT maintains that it was the poet of the *"Εκτόρος ἀναιρέσις* that first made him an Opuntian, § 326, and that the author of the *Ἄθλα ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ*, noticing the discrepancy, tried to salve it over by the story that Patroklos had fled to Phthia on account of blood-guiltiness incurred in his boyhood. The scholiasts make themselves very busy with this point and tell a long story about the fortunes of Menoitios and the Aktoridai but they get nothing but contemptuous silence for their pains. To be sure, nothing seems to have been more common than the contracting of heroic marriages outside of the native canton, as Menoitios is said to have done, and there is no more familiar *motif* in heroic legend than exile on account of manslaughter. It is the 'Gone to Texas' of my boyhood. It is the 'Gone to Canada' of later years. But ROBERT considers this a lame device and insists on the horsy side of Patroklos in the 'Urilias' where he is as addressed as *Πατρόκλεις ἵππειν* with the same affectionate tone, by the way, as Eumaios is addressed in the *Odyssey*, *Εὔμαιε συβῶτα*. No king is Patroklos; he has no chariot of his own, and, while his rank is higher than that of Eumaios, he is a vassal and Achilles his overlord; and according to ROBERT he was originally nothing but the charioteer of Achilles. But this is only one little point among hundreds and, being one, it may serve to show how much room there is for comment in this notable contribution to the study of Homer, a comment which I must leave to those who are better qualified to deal with Homeric questions.

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In the *Annuaire de l'École pratique des Hautes Études* for 1902, M. GAIDOZ, the well-known Keltic scholar, has published an interesting little essay suggested by the mention of the apple as a declaration of love in Old Irish literature. Next come Greeks and Romans and after them the Christian use of the apple in the *Vierge à la pomme*, in whose person Eve, the mother of us all, and *cette archidiablesse de Vénus*, as Heinrich Heine calls her, are blended after a fashion not unfamiliar to the student of such matters. This apple, it need not be said, is not strictly the apple of commerce. It may be the quince, it may be the pomegranate; and in Tahiti it appears as the 'nono', a round fruit, which the Kanaka girls throw at the lovers whom they design to favour. As for the symbolism of the apple, M. GAIDOZ scouts it. The

throwing of the apple is only a *grata protervitas*, as an old commentator calls it. A flower would answer every purpose but the apple or any other spherical fruit carries better. Snow-balls, I would add, sometimes serve the same teasing purpose: and M. GAIDOZ actually mentions the use of rotten eggs at English elections as a familiar and popular practice which indicates the reverse of love; and the instance of Mrs. Nickleby's demonstrative neighbour will recur at once to the minds of those who are not ashamed to remember Dickens. The first apple thrown, says M. GAIDOZ, was merely to attract attention. The symbolism was an afterthought. One is curious to know what M. GAIDOZ will do with the various representatives of the vegetable kingdom, the symbolism of which in Greek is hardly to be denied. One asks in the words of the flower song: *ποῦ μοι τὰ ρόδα;* *ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα;* *ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλιγα;* one abandons reluctantly the long-cherished explanation of the 'parsley bed', which is the English rival of the German stork; and I am afraid that some *amoureux de tétons*, to use La Fontaine's phrase, will not resign the symbolism, which Aristophanes did not invent and which is quite as evident as any of the popular wall-pictures, the exaggerations of which Montaigne so feelingly deplores.

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The *Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames*, by the late CHARLES WAREING BARDSLEY, author of the well-known work on English Surnames, and younger brother of the Bishop of Carlisle, who has furnished an interesting and pathetic biographical preface (N. Y., Henry Frowde), is a storehouse of material on a subject which comes near to everyone, and the *special American instances* which have been incorporated in the work will be welcome to a period of genealogical fads. As in the thesaurus of English words there are hosts of survivals in America that are little known in the mother-country, so in the list of English surnames there are many whose representatives have increased and multiplied on this side, while the stock has become barren beyond the water. In any event the distribution of surnames is always an interesting problem for the historian, as their etymology is tempting and elusive.

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M. W. H.: *Welche dem Menschen gefährlichen Spinnen kannten die Alten?* Such is the title of an interesting address delivered by Dr. R. KOBERT before the section on the History of Medicine, Sept. 1901, reprinted from *Janus*, VI, II. As to whether spiders in temperate latitudes are ever poisonous, the author is very emphatic, asserting that he *knows* some of them are. A book of his on venomous spiders (in press when the address was delivered, but now published) is not at hand. The address summarizes the book and attempts to determine which of

the present venomous spiders were known to the ancient Greeks and Romans. It will be sufficient here to note only these. Pliny mentions a spider that drove out the entire population of a country, and his description shows plainly that the spider belonged to the solifugae or "giant ants." KOBERT, however, says that these are not venomous, though they may bite. Pliny's story would therefore seem to be fabulous. Aristotle mentions a spider which appears to have been a tarantula (not, of course, the venomous mygalid called "tarantula" in Texas); but even the bite of this spider, according to K., is comparatively harmless. "Tarantism" grew out of a passage of Strabo by people confounding the lathrodetes, which Strabo evidently meant, with the much more conspicuous tarantula. The very remarkable effects of the bite of some spiders of the lathrodetes genus, renders it easy to recognize ancient allusions to it. It probably includes the *φαλάγγιον* of Xenophon (and Plato, not mentioned by K.), two species of it are spoken of by Aristotle as being venomous, and one by Nicander (who calls it *ρώξ* and accurately describes the effects that are produced to-day by the bite of the Italian and Russian lathrodetes), and by Pedanius Dioscorides. Celsus speaks of a Gallic poison, which K. thinks may have been made from spiders. The facts reproduced by Aelian from earlier writers confirm the existence of venomous spiders. This address is not intended for philologists, and, with rare exceptions, we are not told exactly where the passages referred to occur; still the author seems to have been the first to explain correctly the description of the *ρώξ* in Nicand. Θηριακά 715 as referring to the black color with red spots characteristic of the Italian species, the "malmignatto" (*lathrodetes tredecimguttatus*), which name he says is derived from "marmoratus", "marmoriert d. h. gefleckt."

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W. P. M.: By some odd obliquity of vision the editor of the 'Parnassus' Virgil (p. xi) transposes the subjects of the Second and Third Georgics. The same editor has the same mistake in the Introduction to his Virgil in Macmillan's 'Classical Series': "the first deals with husbandry proper, the second with the rearing of stock, the third with the cultivation of trees," etc. This sentence stands in all three parts; Aen. i-vi (1894); Bucolics and Georgics (1897), and Aen. vii-xii (1900). Moreover, the commentary on Geor. iv. 559-60 makes 'pecorum' the subject of Bk. ii, and 'arboribus' the subject of Bk. iii. If these things can happen even to an editor who is very jealous for Virgil, one may perhaps be the less surprised to read in Carter's Elegiac Poets (p. 198) that the subject of the Third Georgic is "arboriculture."

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## CORRIGENDA.

p. 107, l. 4 from top *delete* the first 'who will come after the king?' and for the second read 'What can the man do that cometh after the king?' A scriptural quotation is bad enough. A scriptural allusion is lost on an unscriptural generation.

p. 110, l. 19 fr. bottom, for 'when' read 'where'.

p. 289, line 6 from bottom, for — ω read ω ω

p. 344, l. 8 fr. bottom read μέσω.

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